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VOTES FOR WOMEN

EDITED BY FREDERICK AND EMMELINE PETHICK LAWRENCE

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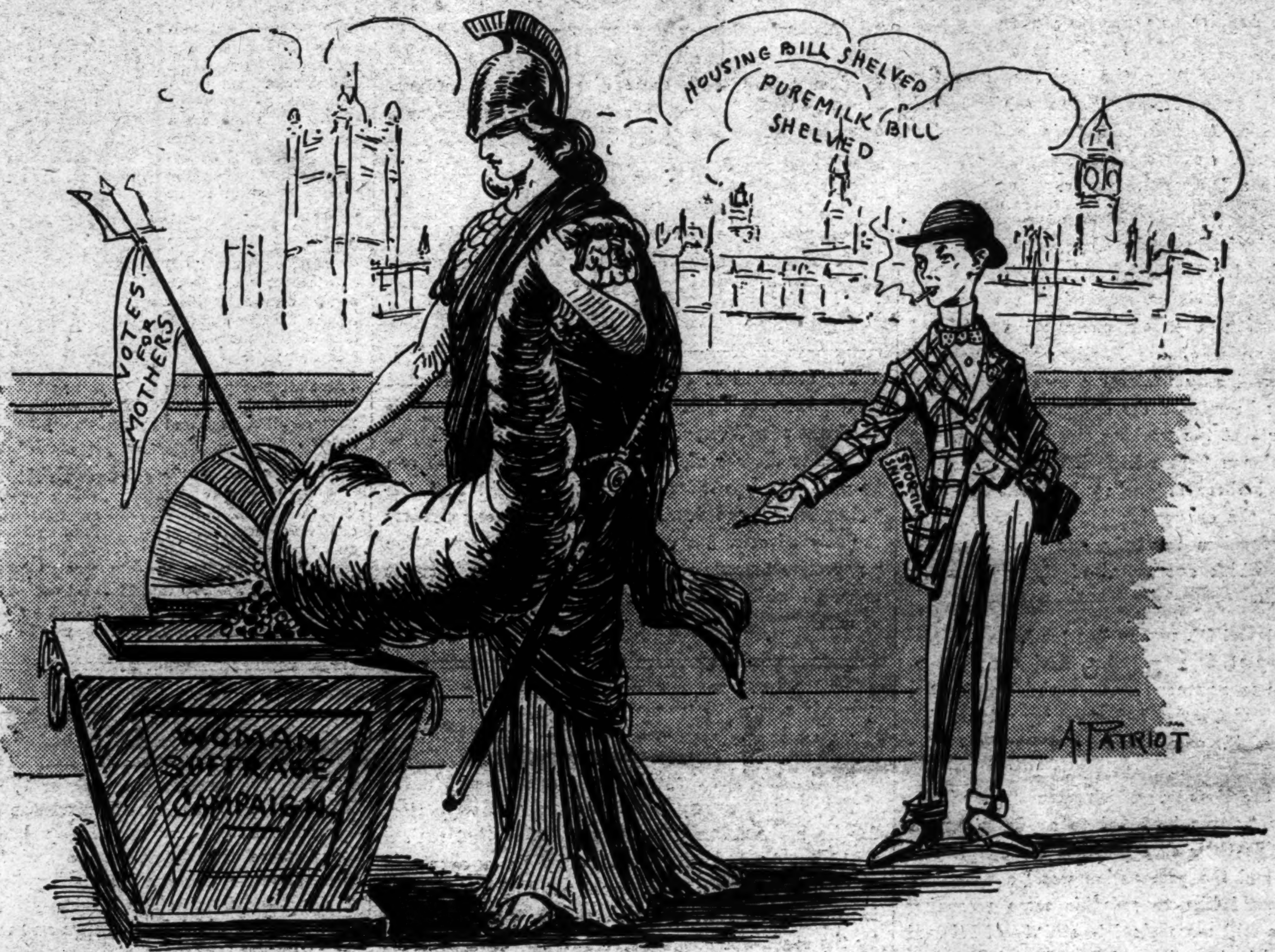
ALWAYS OUR MONEY THEY WANT



WEEDY YOUTH: "Give us a copper, old sport, so as me and my mates can go in and win the Olympic games for the honour of old England."

BRITANNIA: "I've got a better use for my money. If you want women's help, give them the vote, so that they can make it possible for mothers to rear healthy sons without having to bribe them to play ball!"

(*A daily paper is issuing an "Appeal to Women" for a "Women's Olympic Fund," exhorting them to "Show what a woman can do to help England to win!"*)

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DEDICATION

To the brave women who to-day are fighting for freedom: to the noble women who all down the ages kept the flag flying and looked forward to this day without seeing it: to all women all over the world, of whatever race, or creed, or calling, whether they be with us or against us in this fight, we dedicate this paper.

THE OUTLOOK

Arising out of the proclamation of an open-air meeting, serious conflicts with tragic results took place in Dublin between the tramway strikers and the police, last Sunday and after. Both Liberals and Liberal papers have been expressing concern over the brutality shown by the Irish constabulary. We wonder why?

Coercion Comes Home to Roost

"Innocent men," says the *Daily News*, "fell under the batons of the police." Innocent women fell under the blows of the London police, so recently as July 24 last, when a group of unarmed women sought admission to the House of Commons; but we do not remember that the *Daily News* went into transports of indignation over it. "Dublin," says the *Manchester Guardian*, "is given over, not to a Labour mob, but to a ruthless police force." But so was Hyde Park, this very summer, when it was women, not strikers, who were uplifting the banner of Free Speech, and being knocked about and arrested for doing so.

Should Policemen Kick?

"I cannot agree," says Mr. Handel Booth, a Liberal M.P., discussing the Dublin riots with an interviewer, "that people lying prostrate on the ground should be kicked." This fastidiousness appears strange in a supporter of the very Government that refused an inquiry into police brutality towards women in Parliament Square, on Black Friday, in November, 1911, and so, by whitewashing the conduct of the police, tacitly agreed that women lying on the ground might certainly be struck, if not kicked. Our readers will remember Press photographs of such incidents which were suppressed at the time. Nor have they forgotten that women on that occasion received injuries from which some of them never recovered. If Liberals find themselves embarrassed now by police brutality towards Nationalists in Dublin, they have only themselves to thank for encouraging similar methods towards women suffragists in England.

Liberalism While You Wait

Again, it is all very well for the *Daily Chronicle* to lament the arrest of the Nationalist Labour leader on the ground that—

> The common sense shown by the Government in letting Sir Edward Carson alone would have been common sense in Mr. Larkin's case also.

But how is the unfortunate constable to decide whether a Nationalist Labour leader, who makes inflammatory speeches, is a militant suffragist or a Unionist Crown lawyer in the eyes of a Government that for seven years has been manufacturing Liberalism-while-you-wait? Naturally, these little tactical errors are likely to occur, especially when the Government is away playing golf. The life of the policeman who has to interpret Liberal principles nowadays cannot be a happy one.

Suffragists and Mr. Asquith

On Thursday in last week, the Prime Minister was assailed by two women Suffragists when he was playing golf with his daughter on the links near Lossiemouth, and, if the newspaper reports are correct, was subjected to some hustling before the detectives in attendance on him came to his assistance and arrested the two women. They at first refused to divulge their identity, but afterwards gave their names as Miss Winnie Wallace and Miss Flora Helen Smith, and were remanded for trial to-day (Friday). They applied later to have Miss Asquith cited as a witness, but on Wednesday afternoon the case against them was withdrawn, presumably because Mr. Asquith refused to prosecute. If this is so, it seems to us to be questionable whether the action of the police and the magistrate was legal, for was not the consent of Mr. Asquith to prosecute a necessary preliminary to the proceedings? We note that the *Daily Chronicle*, describing the incident, says the women had no time to address "their usual hysterical demands" to Mr. Asquith. Hysteria is "creeping up" if a demand for enfranchisement can be termed "hysterical" in a Progressive paper.

Enfranchisement and Freedom

The president of the Trades Union Congress, Mr. W. J. Davis, in his presidential address last Monday, made use of some striking expressions with regard to the connection between enfranchisement and liberty. He spoke of the Parliamentary vote as "the natural and only protection to man's inalienable rights," and reminded the Congress that prior to 1868 (the year that the working classes obtained the franchise) workmen "were little better than serfs." We recommend those of our readers who are still doubtful as to the connection between the Suffrage and women's freedom to study our leading article this week, in which one aspect of this question is fully dealt with.

Edward III. versus Charles I.

At the Newport County Petty Session on Saturday a golfer was summoned under the Lord's Day Observance Act of Charles I. for playing golf outside the boundary of his own parish on a Sunday. The facts were not disputed, but it was urged for the defence that the statute, which was "practically obsolete," was "never intended to apply to people who met outside their own parishes for simple and quiet sport," and the prosecution was "a ridiculous one." We should like to see this same reasoning applied to the still more obsolete statute of Edward III. under which champions of Free Speech like Mr. Lansbury and Miss Sylvia Pankhurst have been sent to prison recently. But, of course, there is one law for golfers and another for Suffragists.

Democracy and Woman Suffrage

An anonymous writer in the *Common Cause* last week makes an interesting comparison between the opposition to Woman Suffrage in Conservative and Liberal ranks:—

> The refusal to admit the justice of Women's Suffrage is of necessity one of two things (when it is not both!). It is either a denial of democracy or it is a denial of the full humanity of women. . . . The Conservative Anti-Suffragist may involve himself in both denials, but he may, and often does, content himself with the first. He may be steadfastly opposed to Women's Suffrage not because he denies sex-equality, but because he sees in the removal of the sex-disability a doubling of the evils of such democracy as we "enjoy" to-day. . . . But the Liberal, by the terms of his political creed, is unable to make the first denial. He cannot openly gainsay the right of the people to self-government. If he is to oppose Women's Suffrage, then, he can only do it on the second ground—that women are not, in the full sense, people—that somehow they do not attain to full human dignity.

The writer goes on to suggest that herein lies the reason why the Liberal anti-Suffragist is more bitterly resented by many women than the Conservative.

Opposition to the Liberal Party

The statement which we have quoted above in small type appears to us thoroughly sound reasoning; but the context suggests that the writer carries the conclusion a little further than is actually stated, and would trace the political opposition directed to-day against the Liberal Party by a section of woman suffragists to this cause. We believe this view to be entirely mistaken. The present attack upon the Liberal Party (the anti-Government policy as it is more often called) is not dictated by feelings of resentment or bitterness, but by the consideration of the simple political fact that the Liberal Party is in power at the present time. To fight the Liberal Party so long as they resist the claim of women to enfranchisement is therefore a natural political action. To fight the Conservative Party when they have no power to give or withhold the franchise would be to tilt at a windmill.

Liberty—that "Disgusting Fashion"

If Liberalism had not been put out to grass for the last few years we should be amazed at an utterance in last Monday's leading article in the *Manchester Guardian*, which characterises the refusal of the militant Suffragist to acknowledge a system of law, over which she has not her constitutional right of control, as "the latest fashion in rhetorical bravado," and a "disgusting fashion." Fortunately for the writer of that leading article and others who share his political freedom to-day, that same disgusting fashion prevailed at Runnymede, to say nothing of Chalgrove Field and Peterloo, and is still going strong—in Holloway Gaol and outside.

Item of Interest

Full particulars of the meeting to be held by The Votes for Women Fellowship in the Kingsway Hall on Thursday evening, October 16, will be given next week.

The attention of our readers is specially directed to the value of advertising on the "classified" page of Votes for Women. If you have rooms to let, or articles to dispose of, or any other wants which can be met through advertisement, you will find the "classified" page invaluable. One of our readers recently advertised a cottage in these columns. Ten prospective tenants replied, several of whom thought it worth while to travel especially from London to view it.

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WHAT AUGUST BEBEL THOUGHT OF WOMEN

By the death of August Bebel the cause of Woman Suffrage in Germany has lost a staunch supporter, for he never faltered in his conviction that society could not be regenerated except by the co-operation of men and women with equal political rights. As is so often the case, this conviction was strengthened by the conditions of his married life. Throughout his whole career Frau Bebel was in the truest sense his comrade and fellow-worker, and he always spoke with gratitude and admiration of the services she rendered the Social Democratic cause by keeping the flag flying during his years of imprisonment.

It may be of interest to recall briefly some of Bebel's utterances on the enfranchisement of women, which created a great sensation at the time, though now accepted, even in Germany, as the commonplaces of the movement.

"The fact," he says, "that women have hitherto taken little interest in politics is no proof that they ought not to do so. The political education of both men and women is not promoted by excluding them from participation in public affairs, but, on the contrary, by giving them full political rights. When women have received these political rights they will also awake to a sense of their responsibilities, and from that moment men and women will discover points of sympathy which will improve instead of injuring their relations to each other. The unfortunate differences in training and intellectual outlook which lead to so much discord in married life and often hinder a man in the performance of his civic duties will gradually fall away, and the wife will become the true helpmate of the husband. Should domestic duties prevent her from taking an active part in public affairs, she will encourage him to do so, because she will recognise the need of effort and sacrifice to secure a worthy existence for husband and children. Thus the co-operation of both sexes in work for the common weal, which is inseparable from the welfare of the individual, will exercise an ennobling influence on the home and the State. Are our women inferior to the negroes of America, or is an educated woman lower than an ignorant Polish navvy, simply because the latter happens to have been born a male? Is it not an absurdity that the son has more political rights than the mother from whom he has often inherited the best qualities which he possesses and which have made him what he is?"

Bebel lived to see the fulfilment of some of his predictions, at least as regards the political capabilities of women, for the German working women have responded to the calls made upon them by their working class leaders in an almost startling manner. Admitted to the full rights of comradeship in the party associations, they have thrown themselves into the work of propaganda with such discipline and devotion that much of the progress of German Socialism must be laid to their credit. Unfortunately, this fact is sometimes used as an argument against Woman Suffrage by politicians of other parties, who are not sufficiently far-sighted to perceive that what is done by working women could also be done by women of the wealthier classes if they were given the same confidence and political training.

M. C.

◆

"ONLY MARY'S BABY DIED"

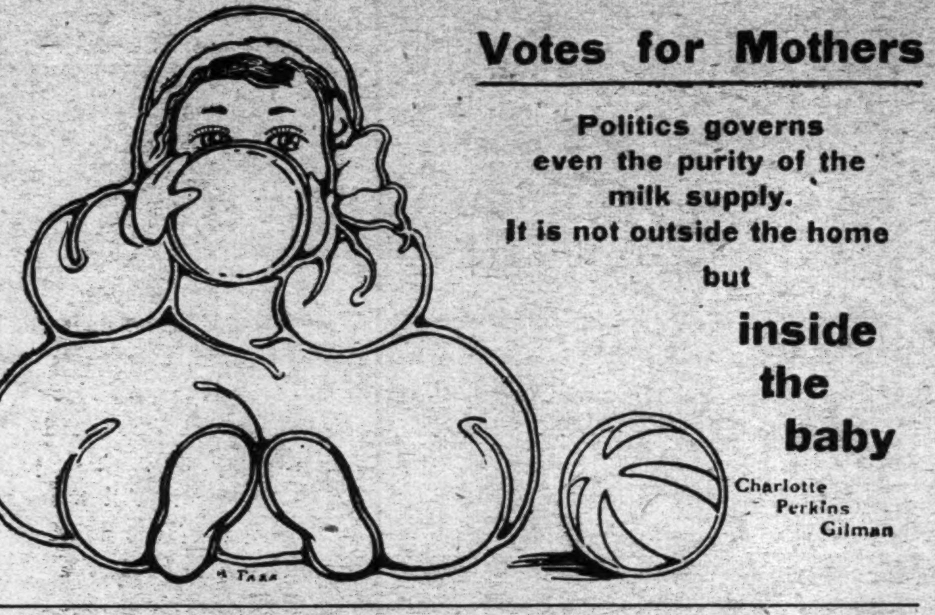
Light came forth from Mary's womb,
  Christ was born in Mary's pain,
  Mary anguished, Christ was slain.
Truth ascended from a tomb.

They murdered Jesus on the cross,
  Mary's flesh that Mary bore,
  Hers the bleeding side they tore,
Hers the death, and hers the loss.

God is not by flesh confined,
  God was never crucified,
  Only Mary's Baby died
For the hope of humankind.

Irene McLeod.

THE WORKING WOMAN'S BURDEN


Votes for Mothers
Politics governs even the purity of the milk supply.
It is not outside the home but inside the baby
Charlotte Perkins Gilman

(The above drawing is the work of Miss Harriet Park, the well-known American Cartoonist and Suffragist, to whom we are indebted for permission to reproduce this postcard.)

"MOTHER WAS GRUMBLY SOMETIMES"

[Our readers will have read the report in the daily papers of August 26 of the woman who was saved from drowning herself by her fourteen-year-old son, who dived into the Regent's Canal after her. They will remember that words had passed between the mother and father on the subject of the housekeeping money that he allowed her, and that the woman then went out and tried to commit suicide. The boy, when asked if his parents agreed well, said, "Sometimes mother is grumbly."

It occurred to us that there were probably reasons that no one in court troubled to discover, why "mother" was "grumbly." The following account by our own correspondent has fully justified our suspicion.]

(From Our Own Correspondent.)

The papers told the story coldly, unintelligently, one thought, with the usual concentration of interest on the sensational fact that a son aged fourteen had jumped into a canal and saved his mother from drowning herself, rather than on the essential fact that the mother of such a son had been driven to seek her death. The constable's story was that he had been called to the side of the bank near where the water was ten feet deep, that he had found the accused—"the accused"!—standing there beside her eldest son, who had jumped in and pulled her out.

"I did it," she said, "and I wish he had let me stop a little longer."

The Boy's Story

The boy's story was that his father had given his mother 20s. out of the 25s. he had earned, but that she was not satisfied, and took a further 2s. out of his pocket. When, after an altercation, the mother left the house, saying she would never come back, he followed her, and was just in time to save her. When asked if his parents got on well together, the boy said they did, but "mother was grumbly sometimes."

Now, I wonder . . . .

She was back in her own home when I saw her. The week on remand, which she spent in the infirmary at the prison because her "heart was bad," had done her good, had smoothed out some of the worried lines. She looked an efficient, essentially sane woman, and she was looking the world squarely in the face. "I don't know now how I ever came to be so silly, and try to do such a thing," she said, simply. "It was the worry, I suppose."

She took me upstairs to her home, three rooms in a small house. There were three children in the kitchen; fat, little restless tow-headed children. At first they seemed all of a size, but one discovered that the eldest was three, the smallest eighteen months old. "I have eight children," said the mother; "the eldest is thirteen and a half."

"You must be a clever manager to keep them in such condition on twenty shillings a week," I said.

"It isn't Managing"

"It isn't managing," she said. "It's just getting along as best we can; and it isn't a pound a week, neither. I don't always have as much as that. He's not always in regular work. Seven shillings of that goes for rent and one and twopence for milk"—that is to say, the eight children and the parents have only a pint of milk a day. "Meat? No, we don't often have meat. I mostly do with rice, or bread, or something like that; and as for the children's clothes — well, you can fancy." I could.

"I do a bit of work myself when I can," she went on, "at a laundry, but it is very hard to leave so many little ones, and when I leave a woman in charge—well, there's a shilling from what I can earn."

She did not complain. The facts had to be dragged out of her; the facts of a respectable, hard-working, motherly woman's daily struggle to keep a home, to feed a hungry little brood. One guessed at the heroism, the devotion, the long strain that had brought a still young woman to such a desperate break. But why had not the papers dwelt on this? Why had not the magistrate taken those eight children into account?

"No Chance to tell him"

"I never had no chance to tell him," said the mother. "But it's down in my report now."

One must try very hard to be fair to the magistrates, must remember that it is too much to expect wisdom to be enthroned on the Bench, or sympathy, or understanding. Still, surely they might have a little common sense? No woman in the world could have looked at that mother and recognised her valiant type without wanting to know the foundation of her story. Why?

E. I.

WOMAN PICKING UP STONES FOR A SHILLING A DAY

SOME STARVATION WAGES

The following are some of the wages earned by women workers, which have come to light owing to recent strikes:—

Laundry Workers in Whitechapel.—Apprentices (from 14 to 17 years of age), 2s. 6d. weekly for 55 hours' work, excluding meal time. Shirt machinists average 15s. weekly, and have to keep three shirt finishers a day going, and get 3d. an hour overtime. Head callander girls receive weekly 9s.; second callander hands 7s.; takers-off 2s. 6d. weekly; head callander feeders 9s. weekly; assistant feeders 7s.; folders 2s. 6d.

As the *Daily Herald* (to whom we are indebted for these figures) comments:—"It is about time somebody got busy and wrote a book on the *real* white slaves of England!"

Waitresses.—The wages of these in railway refreshment rooms are particularly low, and the hours monstrously heavy. In one of the largest of these in the City it is stated in the same paper that on every third Sunday the waitresses have to work from 7 a.m. till 4.20 p.m. (over nine hours without a break), and then from 6 p.m. till 11 p.m., a total of more than fourteen hours. For this kind of thing wages are as low as eleven shillings a week. Can we wonder that women are driven into a trade where wages are always high and the demand always exceeds the supply?

Ropemakers at Hoxton.—For skilled girls, who are employed winding cotton and work on the coarse stuff, 13s. is considered a high rate of pay, though a few years ago 21s. was paid for the same work. But the average rate is now held to be 7s. a week, as many of the girls, working sixty hours a week, only make 2s. 6d. per week because all so-called "bad work" is deducted. It is the firm that decides what is bad work, and the girls have no protection against being supplied with bad yarn. The *Daily Herald*, as a result of interviews with the girls, states that many of them have to be contented with 2s. 4d. and even 2s. 2d. a week.

As Far Away as Russia Is!

It is slightly ironic in this connection to find foreigners resident in this country being lectured as to the wages they should pay their women workers. An appeal was made to the Alien Immigration Board on August 29 against the refusal of the authorities to admit a Russian girl to this country, her brother's employer, a tailor in the East End, having offered to find her work at 13s. a week.

"That is not enough to allow her to live respectably in this country," commented the chairman. "It might do in Russia, but not in London."

The employer then raised his offer to 15s., and upon the board expressing the opinion that this was not sufficient, he undertook to pay her 17s. 6d. per week, promising to increase the wage if the girl's work was satisfactory.

On this understanding the girl was admitted.

We fully agree that 13s. and 15s. are not a good enough wage to enable a woman to live respectably in this country. But did the gentlemen sitting on that Board reflect what a ghastly comment was their remark upon the numbers of women and girls who are expected to live respectably in this country on a wage far below 13s. a week?

WOMEN IN AGRICULTURE

By the kindness of a member of the Votes for Women Fellowship we are enabled to reproduce the interesting picture on this page of a Hertfordshire woman stone-picker—quite a Millet study in composition, but embodying a dreary human document that is often enough to be met with in our agricultural districts. All day long, from morning till evening, this woman works at her back-aching job, clearing a stubble field of stones. At the end of a full day's work, often done in the blazing sun, she has at the most cleared only what is called a "yard of stones"—twice her box full—thus earning one shilling. She walks a mile and a half to and from her work, pushing her little boy in the go-cart. He stays with her all day, and is put to bed under a neighbouring stack when he falls sleepy. At nightfall she wheels him home again, puts him to bed, gets her husband's tea, and performs all her other domestic duties of cooking, washing, mending, and so on.

THE BISHOP OF LINCOLN AND WOMEN WORKERS

The Bishop of Lincoln, in a special Congress sermon preached last Sunday to the Trades Union delegates in Manchester Cathedral, spoke of the low wages of women. For obvious reasons, he said, women workers were very feebly organised. Society had been slow in recognising the claims of women in the share of the constitution or the proper proportion of the fruits of labour.

Dr. Hicks is a sincere Suffragist, and recognises the connection between women's votes and women's wages.

IN THE PRESS

THE MATERNITY BENEFIT DEBATE

There was some childish talk about insulting a husband by paying the benefit to a wife. After all, the woman bears the child, and the description of the payment is maternity and not paternity benefit. A good husband and father would desire that the mother of his child should have the full advantage to be derived from the money. Yet it was for the men the strongest claim was made. That some men have taken the money and used it for their own purposes is proved. In some cases the money is known to have been expended in questionable ways. In the interests of children, mothers should have the use of the money, and Parliament has not distinguished itself in its consideration of the claims of the woman.

Paid maternity benefit by the Insurance officer, a father took home a small portion of food. Asked for the money, he wanted to know what his wife had to do with it.—**Child's Guardian.**

HAMPTON COURT RE-OPENED

What is a Suspicious Dress?

The State apartments at Hampton Court Palace, which have been closed since February 2 for fear of the militant Suffragists, have now been re-opened to the public, but with such precautions in the way of extra guardians and new rules that the most harmless visitor will feel she is being watched from the moment she enters. The ordinary staff of warders has been increased, so that now there is one in every room, whose orders are to scrutinise narrowly all visitors who enter, and to report at once to the superintendent "anything suspicious in their behaviour or dress." Further orders have been issued that no persons shall be allowed to pass until they have given up to the attendants everything carried in the hands, including walking-sticks, umbrellas, bags, parcels, and particularly ladies' muffs; but this rule does not apply to the small money purses or bags carried by ladies. When divested of these, "*if the dress of any visitors or anything about them should excite suspicion the attendants have authority to search them.*"

To the Dungeon with Her!

Are we really living in twentieth century England, or in a dear old Adelphi melodrama? One would dearly like to know what those four-and-twenty warders are going to consider "anything suspicious." To wear a Suffrage badge or carry a copy of Votes for Women would, we suppose, throw them into a panic—and the guilty person into a dungeon.

"TO THE LIONS!"

Mr. Shaw's New Play at St. James's Theatre

"Androcles and the Lion" is Mr. Bernard Shaw at his best. Nearly at his best, anyhow. Perhaps it does not reach quite such a depth as "Fanny's First Play," his greatest piece of work for the stage, but still it shows his best side, his truest power—the illustration of profound truth and emotion under a disguise of fun and wit and satire.

Of course, it is a suffragette play. He calls it a "Fable Play," and there are many morals to his fable. I could imagine Mr. Stephen Coleridge claiming it as an anti-vivisection play, the Peace Society claiming it as a peace play, the *Daily Herald* as an anti-fat play, and so on. But it seems that playwrights can no more escape the suffragette now than Cabinet Ministers can.

Sometimes the reference was quite obvious, as when the Christian prisoners are brought in as victims for the arena, and the Emperor remarks they have only to burn a pinch of incense on the altars of the gods to win their freedom; if their obstinacy refused that, their sufferings came of their own stupid fault, and they were guilty of suicide. The audience cheers the allusion, and the meaning of the applause is "Down with McKenna!"

Echoes of Suffrage

At intervals all through the play, almost unconsciously, one is suddenly reminded of the movement. Even the awning of the arena is painted with familiar colours. Even the Emperor talks like a police-court magistrate, and when Androcles, the most lovable type of sympathetic simplicity, persists in addressing him as "Your Worship," the effect is irresistible. We feel the police-court again in the remark of the centurion of the guard that "prisoners are not allowed to draw the Emperor's officers into argument." We feel the suffragettes in the varying descriptions of the Christians as "blaspheming Atheists," "the lowest of the low," and "the proudest devils on earth." So again, in the perfect friendship and confidence of the Christians among each other, their entire disregard of rank and wealth and social or official position. And in their fun, too—the fun of real comradeship. When they are told the lions are hungry, and they in turn are to be the dinner, one says, "Then I shall be the entrée." "And I the fish," "And I the *pièce de résistance*" (or some such words), say the others. We all know suffragettes who would say the same, if certain people had their way and the cry was not "Christianos ad leones!" but "The suffragettes to the lions!"

The Rapid Conversion

I liked the strong man, too—Ferrovius, I think, was his name. I liked the old Adam in him, always tempted to establish the truth of his faith by a knock-out blow on the jaw. He reminded one of the dockers, whose presence at our meetings has had so convincing an effect. Especially, he reminded one of the two brewers' men from Barclay and Perkins over the water, who suddenly appeared in the park one Sunday last spring, when the West End hooligans were pelting and hustling and yelling down suffragette speakers. "Come on," they said, "any four of you!" and the hooligans turned green. They pulled their straw hats over their eyes; they pretended they had not spoken; they asked those behind where they were shoving to. No conversion in history was more rapid. And if it comes to that, in the play itself it is the old Adam arising in Ferrovius and driving him to kill his opponents in the arena instead of standing to be slaughtered like a sheep—it is that unsanctified militancy which wins pardon and life for all his fellow Christian friends. One can well understand the confession of Lavinia—the leading woman of the martyrs—that somehow she is not always quite a Christian; "sometimes something comes out—quite natural." I remember, too, the strong man's innocent remark that "Infidels are often converted when we have a heart to heart talk."

But, as is usual with Mr. Shaw, the heart of the matter is shown almost casually, and is quickly covered up again. The pagan captain, who loves Lavinia, has been asking her why she should die for stories and dreams not much better than the pagan stories and dreams that no educated Roman would think of believing, still less dying for. She answers that it is not for any stories or dreams she would die; it is for God. "What is God?" asks the captain. "When we know that," she answers, "we shall be gods ourselves." (I quote only from memory throughout.) So, I suppose, a suffragette might say, "It is not for this measure or that object that we fight—not only for a White Slave Act or even for economic freedom. It is for something far greater than those. We can only say it is for God we are willing to die."

Two Fine Characters

Writing for you, I dwell on the suffragette interest, strong throughout; but there are other sides. The lion is a character of most attractive charm. Mr. Edward Sillward makes him just too human. The lion should remain a lion. He should not say, "If you were to take me for a lion, 'twere pity of my life." He is a charming beast, all the same, most lovable when least human, and pathetically appealing enough to convert Mr. Roosevelt from slaughter. But, in character, Androcles himself is the triumph of the play. He is the "Pure Fool" of Parsifal, the "Idiot" of Dostoievsky, the tinker Louka, in Gorky's "Lowest Depth"—a man of pitiful soul, loving and pitying everything that breathes, everything that is capable of pain or of sin, the true Christian; I had almost said the real Christ, except that the character is humorous as well as exquisite. The part is admirably played by Mr. Heggie. All the sayings are fine, but this seemed one of the finest to me. Androcles is waiting next turn to be driven into the arena, and the Menagerie Keeper tells him that the lion who is to devour him is hungry. "I'm glad he's hungry," says Androcles. "Not that I want him to suffer, poor chap!"

H. W. N.

THE SUFFERINGS OF THE WORKHOUSE INMATE

Mr. Burns's Proposed New Draft Order

By Anne Cobden-Sanderson

Seven years ago a Royal Commission, composed of the heads of the three Local Government Boards of England, Scotland, and Ireland, past and present Poor Law Guardians, representatives of the C.O.S., and independent experts, such as Mrs. Sidney Webb and George Lansbury, was appointed to go into the question of the Poor Law and its administration. The inquiry, which was first-hand, thorough, and widespread, lasted for four years, and although the Commissioners were unable to agree on all points, they were unanimous in their condemnation of the existing mixed workhouse, and in their recommendation that it should be abolished. Very great hopes were raised by the publication of this Report, and it was generally felt that Mr. John Burns, the former leader of the unemployed and now the President of the L.G.B., would gladly seize the opportunity to bring about some large and drastic measure of Social Reform, only to be effected by the abolition of the present Poor Law system.

Three years had gone by without even a suggestion of Poor Law Reform, when, just before Parliament was prorogued, too late to allow of discussion, Mr. Burns published a proposed new Poor Law Order, which only awaits his signature in the autumn to be put into force.

Looking Backwards

Ignoring all the terrible evils revealed in the Report of the Royal Commission and the recommendations made, he now gives his sanction to the continuation of the present mixed workhouse. Like Mr. McKenna, Mr. Burns looks backwards for guidance! He has gone back to the General Consolidated Order of 1847 for rules for the governing of workhouses, putting aside the humaner provisions made by his predecessors at the L.G.B., Sir Henry Fowler and Mr. Chaplin, for the benefit of the aged and deserving inmates. The new order does not contain one word with regard to the classification of the inmates beyond the division of male and female. Former "Orders" had demanded from the Guardians an elaborate system of classification, which it has, however, been found practically impossible to carry out, even in the enormous great buildings recently erected and arranged with the idea of classification. Each ward had been built to hold a fixed number of each class of inmates; numbers, however, will not obey calculations made on paper, and into them go indiscriminately the old and decrepit, epileptics and feeble-minded, youth and the corruptor of youth, the betrayed girl and her baby with the woman of the streets, the pure with the morally and physically diseased. There is no supervision, and no attempt at reform; the rule is only deterrent. It is the absence of all spiritual and moral aim in the carrying out of the Poor Law that makes every hope for human improvement impossible.

With regard to punishment, the new Order will leave even greater powers than before with the obsolete Boards of Guardians, while obliging them at the same time to entrust the management of the workhouse to a small House Committee. The punishments are more severe than were put down in the Consolidated Order of 1847, and will be left entirely in the hands of this Committee. Women "advanced in pregnancy" are, however, to be exempted from being put for forty-eight hours on bread and water diet! Each Board of Guardians will have the discretionary power to make their own separate regulations and to alter them when they like without asking approval from the L.G.B. The handing over of the management of the workhouse to a small secret committee is a most serious and dangerous innovation, and a return to the worst form of Bumbledom and corruption. It will also stop the power of the Press to expose scandals, and the inmates will no longer be able to bring their grievances before the open Board, but they will be dealt with in private. Under the new Order a mother who is in the workhouse will no longer be able to claim her right to see her child after it is three years old, and paupers cannot claim the return of their own clothes in which to leave the workhouse. One cannot help asking why Mr. Burns should go out of his way to preserve the universally condemned mixed workhouse, and at the same time make harder the lot of the unfortunate inmates. There is, no doubt, a great difficulty in disposing of these huge and costly buildings erected with the approval of the L.G.B.; and if now closed by order, the ratepayers would be indignant at the waste of their money. Mr. Burns may be able to dry them up by his vigorous treatment, leaving only the old and feeble behind. Classification may be brought about by letting the workhouses take in boarders, and at the same time it will be possible to preserve all the deterrent institutional life of the Poor Law.

The Economical Guardian

A few years ago Greenwich built itself an enormous new workhouse at Lee, which it has never been able to fill. The situation is damp, and not healthy for children, so last July, with the sanction of the L.G.B., one of the empty blocks was opened for the reception of epileptic women and girls from the different Unions of London at a cost of 10s. 6d. a week, which is 1s. 6d. a week less than is charged at charitable homes, where everything is done for the comfort, improvement, and happiness of the patient. Economical Guardians are availing themselves of the opportunity of sending their epileptics there, and in some instances they are transferring them from beautiful and healthy surroundings to pass their lives, dressed in the pauper uniforms, in a dreary building surrounded by asphalt courts and railings. "We feel like prisoners here," they said to me. "Cannot you help to get us away?" The tears came into my eyes as I thought of the cruel fate that had sent those poor girls there. The cruel fate is our present Poor Law system. God help the mentally deficient if they, too, come under its rule!

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WHY PAPER-SELLING IS WORTH WHILE

At times, in the early days of a paper-seller's experience, the thought occurs that it is hardly worth while; but after months of steady selling week by week, there comes the firm conviction that it is very much worth while, and that what is greatly needed is the seller of a Suffrage paper in every busy street. Just opposite me, as I sell at Oxford Circus, there usually stands a blind person, holding out a box for alms. Many coppers are dropped into this box. Some of the givers turn and buy a paper from me, but I wish that all would, for the movement which our paper represents has for its object the doing away, in time, of all poverty and all blindness. The blindness of ignorance and prejudice afflicts the vision of hundreds who pass by that corner, and the seller is nerved to go on when she remembers that the little medallion in the corner of the poster expresses a truth when it claims that our paper is "spreading the light."

"Why I Went to Prison"

The latest experiences are the freshest in memory, and the last time I sold papers I wore the poster, "Why I Went to Prison." At a little distance from me, in another part of the Circus, there stood a man, wearing a *Daily Herald* poster with the words, "A Just Man in Gaol." Strange things are happening truly when the woman and the man to whom these posters refer, with their fellow fighters and writers, are in prison!

At a Suffrage meeting, or even in many homes now, it is quite natural and ordinary to talk about comrades in prison. But the streets, with the gay as well as the busy crowds perpetually passing by, seem to belong to a different world; and a sense of great disharmony and contradiction comes over one, until the thought recurs that, after all, many of those gay-looking people, and many of the very busy ones, are slaves in one form or another, and the one hope for them lies in the fact that there are a gallant *few* fighting for Freedom.

Actual selling varies from week to week, and beginners do well to remember that this is so, and that there are times when the bag of papers is lightened very quickly, and others when hours of standing still leave it heavy. Happily, I am convinced that the more sellers there are, the more will each seller sell!

It is quite natural that only those who know something of the subject should wish to buy the paper, and the mere appearance of a seller may have some effect in producing the beginning of real thinking on the subject.

Posters

Posters alone must have some effect; in fact, the passers-by cannot help reading them. I think the poster that made most impression and caused greatest amusement, although now, alas! it has the most tragic interest, was "The Cat-and Mouse Bill," worn as far back as April 4. On one occasion, when I was feeling that I had perhaps chosen a wrong pitch, a working woman passed me and read the words on the poster—"Women's wages cut down by Government."

She turned and said: "Is that about the women in the Pimlico factory, and is there something about them inside the paper?" I answered "Yes," and she offered her penny for a copy, remarking: "My daughter is one of those women." It is very satisfactory to get the working women to know that the Suffragists are agitating for better conditions for them.

One gets to have the window dresser's anxiety to show off one's goods to the best advantage; and one morning, although interested myself, I felt that the picture on the front page was not quite so taking as most of the cartoons are. It was a map of the United States, showing which States had got Woman Suffrage, which ones were likely to get it soon, and which ones were, as yet, blank on the subject. A man came up and almost roughly asked: "What is that map for?" as if we had no right to have such a common-sense thing as a map. I explained, and after looking at it for a few seconds, he bought the paper.

Her "At Home" Day

A friend of mine who has sold for years at the same pitch has got a regular band of customers, with whom she has at times interesting talks. She calls her selling time her "At Home" day.

Although there are a few disagreeable things to put up with in paper-selling, there are ample compensations. There is the friendliness of the women who *know* all that "Votes for Women" means; a fine freemasonry among women has this movement evolved; and there is the cordiality of the men who realise that it is only for a great cause that we could stand in the gutter to sell, and who gladly recognise those who brave discomfort and ridicule for a principle.

If I were asked what was the strongest impression made on me, after standing in the streets to sell, I should say, "The Need for the Vote." We cannot be satisfied with the appearance of our people in the streets; there are so many stunted, deformed, wretched-looking beings; there are old men with faces disfigured by prejudice and wrong thoughts; there are young women with faces disfigured with vanity and childishness—wage slaves, convention slaves, passion slaves—away with slavery of all kinds!

Paper-selling may not in itself be a very delightful occupation, but it is transformed into something precious when the sellers realise that they are taking part in one small way in the grand fight for Freedom. It is so satisfying and heartening to know that what we are selling is so very good. To help to spread the light of knowledge and of hope is well worth while.

Margaret E. Thompson.

FELLOWSHIP NOTES

This week we have enrolled large numbers of Fellows from over the seas, especially from India and from Canada, thus showing how widespread the Votes for Women movement has become. At Calcutta our weekly poster is being displayed by the principal book-selling firm, through the activity of one of our Fellows who is resident there. We would remind Fellows everywhere, at home and abroad, of this very admirable way of bringing the paper Votes for Women to the notice of new readers.

Useful Reminders.—On the back page of this issue will be found full particulars as to membership of the Votes for Women Fellowship.

The following are on sale, and can be obtained from the Hon. Secretary:—(1) Fellowship badges in the colours, price 3d. each, post free, 4d.; (2) books containing 25 adhesive labels, price 1d., to be attached to letters or bills by Fellows when dealing with the firms that advertise in Votes for Women. This last method of service is simple, easy, and at the same time invaluable, and we therefore urge it especially upon those who are unable to help in more active ways, such as paper-selling.

Bags for paper-sellers are much needed. Will anyone willing to make these apply to the Hon. Secretary for a pattern?

PAPER-SELLING REPORT

Those of our newspaper corps who are on holiday are continuing their sale and propaganda, wherever they chance to be, in a very exemplary and self-sacrificial way. Those who have returned to London are again to be seen at their pitches; but many of our sellers are still away, while others will take holiday this month, so that we shall be grateful for volunteers for vacation work.

FELLOWSHIP FUND SUBSCRIPTIONS

(From Aug. 23 to Sept. 1, 1913)

	£	s.	d.
Subscriptions already acknowledged	834	15	10
"Collected at Lancaster House"....	0	7	0
Miss M. Forbes Playfair..............	0	2	0
Miss C. Boyd	0	2	0
Miss G. Lloyd......	0	2	0
Mrs. G. Carstairs ..	0	1	0
Miss Hulme (extra on street sales)......	0	0	5
Mrs. Masters (extra on street sales) ..	0	0	2
Miss E. A. Snook ..	0	5	0
Mrs. Douglas Hamilton..............	5	0	0
Miss K. E. Traeger..	0	1	0
Miss E. S. Court....	1	0	0
"Lodger's rent while in prison" — per Mrs. Levermore ..	1	5	0
Miss A. Smith	0	1	0
Miss P. K. Shaw....	0	2	6
Dr. K. Chapman	0	10	6
Miss N. Robinson ..	0	2	6
Total......	£843	17	11

SOME BOOK REVIEWS

THE NEED OF KNOWLEDGE

Knowledge, knowledge, and still knowledge; that is the cry of all those who are writing in the present day on social and ethical problems. It is an accepted axiom that knowledge means power; and the women of to-day are realising that, where sex is concerned, it also means purity. Women are asking, as Mrs. Almon Hensley asks in her latest book, "Love and the Woman of To-morrow,"* that to the young of both sexes shall be given the knowledge of good as well as the knowledge of evil, that sex instincts and sex functions shall be no longer associated with coarseness and shame, but girt about with the reverence that comes from true understanding.

What will love be for the woman of to-morrow, the woman who is free, the woman who stands on a political level with men? That is the question with which Mrs. Hensley is concerned; a question that is undoubtedly the concern of all men and women, of the whole of society. Will she love more wisely and less well? More wisely, the author tells us, but certainly not less well; more nobly, more purely, with a greater comprehension of the spiritual element inseparable from all love that is not simply animal. And as the conception of love rises in the view of woman, so also will it rise in the conception of men; but the higher conception can come only with the freedom of women.

> Love . . . can never be a high or a holy thing till there is absolute recognition of woman as an individual apart from her sex; till women themselves recognise their true place and destiny, their importance to society and the world at large as free women; free to marry if that satisfies their highest and strongest impulse, free to do any other work in the world for which their capacity and training fit them.

Mrs. Hensley considers love apart from, as well as conjoined with, sex attraction, and has much to say on the subject from many points of view. G.

THE SACREDNESS OF SEX†

Mrs. Swiney writes with frankness and modesty on the necessity of sex knowledge for the young, and on such a subject as this, frankness is the friend of modesty, not the destroyer of it, as prudes suppose:

"The Children have asked how they shall live, and the answer through the ages from those who should lead, instruct, warn, and guide them has been: 'Don't ask; find out.' The sacred secret of Life . . . . has been confided to the boy's eager, innocent soul through the foul ribaldry of the stable-yard, the street-corner loafer, the degenerate collegiate, and the indecencies of the sensualist."

There are millions of fathers and mothers who know these words to be true, millions who have themselves been deceived in childhood on the subject of sex, and who, when questioned in their turn by their children, have answered them with lies. And so falsehood goes on and suffering and degradation follow in its train. Mrs. Swiney advocates a certain amount of biological teaching, making science the door which leads to the holy of holies; and the lines upon which the teaching is to be conveyed, and indeed a proportion of the teaching itself, are given in her able and valuable pamphlet.

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* "Love and the Woman of To-morrow." By Almon Hensley. (Drane's. Price 6s.)

† "Instruction of the Young in the Laws of Sex." By Frances Swiney. (The League of Isis. Price 3d.)

BOOKS RECEIVED

"Sinister Street." By Compton Mackenzie. (London: Martin Secker. Price 6s.)

"The Red Room." By August Strindberg. (London: Howard Latimer. Price 6s.)

"Woman, Marriage and Motherhood." By Elizabeth Sloan Chesser, M.B. (London: Cassell. Price 6s. net.)

"Below Stairs." By Mrs. Alfred Sidgwick. (London: Methuen. Price 6s.)

"The Regent." By Arnold Bennet. (London: Methuen. Price 6s.)

"The Brat." By Mrs. H. H. Penrose. (London: Mills and Boon. Price 6s.)

"Love and £200 a Year." By Mrs. Alfred Praga. (London: T. Werner Laurie. Price 2s. net.)

"Pale Amethyst." By N. Gascoign. (London: Walbrook and Co. Price 1s.)

"The Englishwoman." September. (London: Sidgwick and Jackson. Price 1s. net.)

"Esperanto for All." (British Esperanto Association Price 1d.)

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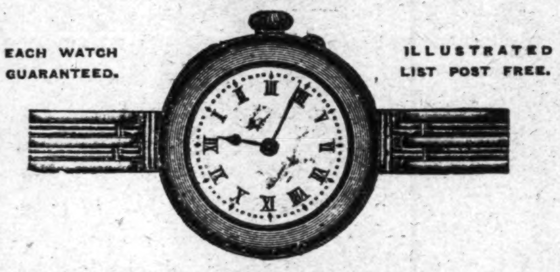

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FRIDAY, SEPTEMBER 5, 1913.

WHAT IS FREEDOM?

We Suffragists often speak of the struggle we are carrying on as a fight for the "freedom" of women; or, borrowing a metaphor from the Roman days of slavery, we sometimes use the expression "the emancipation of women" as a synonym for that of "woman suffrage" itself.

Exception has been taken to these phrases by opponents, and even by some half-hearted sympathisers, who contend that the exclusion of women from the suffrage does not imply any limitation of their freedom as human beings. It would be a sufficient answer to this objection to point to the use by both sides of the words "franchise" and "enfranchisement"; for these words, by their derivation, prove that from the oldest times the possession of voting rights was closely bound up with the conception of freedom. We prefer, however, to turn to first principles, and by a consideration of the essential elements of freedom show that an unenfranchised section of the community is necessarily to-day an unfree section.

What is freedom? We answer unhesitatingly the power to live one's own life in one's own way. The wild animals, the wild birds, the wild flowers are free because they suffer no restriction on their liberty except that which is inherent in the law of their own being. The tame animals, the caged birds, the garden flowers are not free, because they are subject to another earthly will in addition to, and it may be superseding, their own volition or instinct. However contented and comfortable they may be, their life is not the natural development of their own individuality. If we examine by this standard the position of women at the present time we shall find that their status falls short of freedom, and must continue to fall short until they share with men the right of taking part in electing the representatives by whom they, in common with the rest of the country, are governed.

The right to live one's own life in one's own way, and to develop one's own personality according to the law of one's own being, covers in our complex modern world a large field of separate ideas. Into each one of these we might pursue with advantage our discussion of the position of women, but in this article we shall confine ourselves to a single aspect of the question: the selection by a woman of her work in life.

It is a simple fact that, while men are free to choose for themselves any occupation whatever for which they think themselves suited, the women of this country are limited to a choice of such occupations as the laws and the Government, made and controlled by men alone, have chosen to leave open to them. Women are arbitrarily prohibited from being either barristers or solicitors; they are excluded from all offices of government; they may not fill any of the more important and lucrative positions in the Civil Service; and though, as a result of the severe struggle of the last generation, they are now permitted to be doctors, they are still forbidden to undertake a cure of souls. Again, the Home Office has set itself against the appointment of women as relieving officers, has refused the application of a duly qualified woman to obtain a licence as a driver of a taxi-cab, confines the police force exclusively to men, appoints a man governor and men doctors to a woman's prison. All these are merely illustrations out of a list that could be continued almost indefinitely.

Even if it could be maintained that these restrictions were in the interests of women themselves or of the race as a whole it would not alter the fact that they were limitations of freedom imposed from without, which would be much better replaced by the limitations imposed by the good sense of women themselves. But, as a matter of fact, no such contention can be urged to-day with any hope of success. Everyone who has thought about the matter recognises that for most, if not all, of these callings there are some women who are admirably fitted; and the existing barrier is therefore not merely detrimental to the women concerned, but to the general public, who are thereby denied the opportunity of availing themselves of their efficient services. It may be just as important to the woman seeking legal redress to be able to tell her story of wrong to a barrister of her own sex as for a woman in search of relief for her physical pain to tell her symptoms to a woman doctor; yet women still continue to be shut out from the profession of the law. And similar reasoning is applicable to nearly every one of the other callings.

The facts of the case are thrown into greater relief by a recollection that there are no trades or occupations which men are by law prohibited from entering. Men were not forbidden to take up spinning, or baking, or brewing, or doctoring, all of which were at one time mainly or exclusively undertaken by women. There is no suggestion that they should be shut out from acting as shop assistants or domestic servants on the ground that these are occupations especially fitted for women, or that the lack of muscular exercise renders them unsuitable for the masculine physique.

It is not, however, until we turn to the principal and fundamental occupation of women—the bearing, nurture, and upbringing of the future race—that we realise to the full extent the nature of the limitations which are imposed by men upon women. The existing marriage laws under which alone women can honourably occupy themselves with this calling inflict upon them a position so humiliating that nothing but the usage of centuries, and the fact that the vast proportion of men are far better than the law, have enabled them to be tolerated.

Upon marriage, the identity of a woman becomes merged in the person of her husband, and she is still regarded legally for many purposes as his chattel. The children born of her body are *his* children, and he has a right to the custody of them as against her. If both he and she are alive he is the sole parent in the eyes of the law; he alone decides their religion and their education; he alone can inherit from them if they die intestate. If poor she has no effective means to compel him to maintain her during his life, though she devote her whole time to his service, while in the event of the death of one of them the Insurance Act differentiates entirely to her disadvantage in the disposal of the money compulsorily accumulated out of the family income.

Limitations of space alone prevent us from enlarging upon this aspect of the question to far greater length. But we have said enough to show that the position of the women of this country to-day is not one of freedom under the existing law. And even if to-morrow all these restrictive laws were swept away by Parliament it would still be true that women were not free unless at the same time the restriction which debars women from the exercise of the Parliamentary franchise were swept away also. For women would still fail to be masters of their own destiny, their fate would still be dependent upon the decision of the men electors of the country, who, however kind and however indulgent, would be the real rulers of their lives.

WOMEN CIVIL SERVANTS & THE HOLT COMMITTEE

By A Woman Post Office Clerk

The recent Parliamentary Committee appointed to inquire into the wages and conditions of Post Office servants is the last of a series of such committees, which have been appointed from time to time, whenever the prevailing discontent in the Post Office service has threatened to become acute.

It is a significant fact that until 1907—when the Hobhouse Committee was appointed—the women clerks in the Post Office had never attempted to give evidence before one of these Committees or to better their conditions in any way, in spite of the fact that then, as now, many of them were doing similar work to that of the men clerks and receiving about one-third of their pay. Nor was this fact to be attributed to a cynical disbelief in the likelihood of women obtaining any redress for grievances from a Committee consisting only of men, elected by men, and inclined—as the Holt Committee has fully proved—to show themselves entirely wanting in understanding of the woman's point of view. Rather it seems to have been due to the fact that in those days women were inclined to look at themselves from the man's point of view and to value their services at the rate he chose to pay for them, whilst now they are inclined to think out things for themselves, thereby making the surprising discovery that there is no logical reason advanced by their employers for the glaring discrepancy between their wages and the men's.

Revolt Against Sex Differentiation

It is interesting to note that the growing spirit of revolt against sex differentiation in regard to pay has grown up almost entirely since the beginning of the militant agitation for the vote. In 1907 the women were content to ask for certain improvements in their salary, and the removal of a grievance in regard to their minimum, and, perhaps because they did not arouse the opposition of the prejudiced male by insisting on equality with men, they did gain some slight improvement in their conditions.

In the six years that have passed since then, there has been considerable growth in ideas among the women civil servants. In spite of the rule, "more honoured in the breach than in the observance," which states that civil servants, "having now had their disabilities removed," must not "put themselves forward in politics," in spite of the fact that this rule has been interpreted as applying to women (whose disabilities have certainly not been removed), and as covering so harmless an action as "taking a chair" at a Suffrage meeting, the women of the Post Office have not stood outside the Suffrage Movement, but have, as far as possible, taken their part, and have learned from it to put a greater value on their sex and their work. They now realise that as servants of the State it rests with them, for the sake of other women, to obtain proper recognition for their services; for the Government, whether rightly or wrongly, is usually regarded as the model employer, and can always be used as an argument by the outside employer to justify his treatment of his employees. Therefore, in placing their case before the Holt Committee, the Association of Post Office women clerks devoted the main part of their evidence to the support of their claim for equality of remuneration with second division and supplementary men clerks on the ground of similar status and similar work, and to proving the justice and expediency of throwing open clerkship examinations to men and women on equal terms.

An Audacious Claim

This audacious claim appears to have considerably astonished the gentlemen of the Holt Committee. The statement made by the women's representative that since bachelors were not paid any less than their married men, there seemed to be no just ground for paying women less simply because they were unmarried, proved so unpalatable to one member of the Committee that he walked out in the middle of the inquiry rather than listen any longer to such heretical arguments; whilst the others showed by their cross-examination of the witness the difficulty they had in fully grasping such revolutionary proposals.

Respecting the claim, a member of Committee (evidently in amazement) said: "Is that really the gist of your claim?" Answer: "Yes." (He evidently could not quite believe it, so tried another line.) "In other words, that so far as the clerical staff of the Post Office is concerned, there should be no distinction of sex at all?" Answer: "Exactly." "Do you want the same prospects of promotion?" Answer: "Yes." "You contemplate a lady secretary to the Post Office?" Answer: "Yes, certainly; and a lady Postmaster-General eventually." (Laughter.) "That really is your claim?" (He could not believe it.) Answer: "Yes, that is our ambition."

Well, after some eighteen months devoted to this inquiry and the consideration of evidence, the Committee has published a Report, which so far seems to have met with little approval from any of the persons concerned. The men complain that whilst little improvement has been made in their wages, their hours of duty have in many cases been increased. Whatever cause of complaint they may have, however, they are in a far better case than the women. There has been some attempt made to deal with the grievances put forward, and to answer their arguments, and, further, there can be little doubt that if the men unanimously refuse to accept the conditions laid down, a Government dependent, in some measure, on the votes of these men for its continued existence, will not attempt to enforce them.

No Such Remedy for Women

The women have no such remedy, and at the same time they have much stronger grounds of complaint against the findings of the Committee. Not only is the glaring discrepancy between their salaries and the men's to be maintained, but in some cases it is proposed to increase it, whilst the compensation offered them for increased hours of duty is glaringly inadequate. In fixing the salaries for postmasterships, the Committee propose that there should be a difference of £10 to £15 annually in the minimum salary paid, according to whether the person holding the appointment is male or female, and this in spite of the fact that the favourite argument as to men's greater responsibilities cannot be advanced in this case, because many postmistresses are widows with families. Again, women telegraphists under eighteen years of age are to receive 2s. a week less than boys under eighteen (is this because the boys have families to keep?) whilst their maximum is to be little more than half. The great discrepancy between the salaries of men and women clerks is to be continued, and whilst it is proposed to compensate the men for increased hours of work by an additional increment of £10 and an increase of £20 to £30 in their maximum, a precisely similar increase in the number of hours worked by women clerks is to be compensated by a £5 increment and £5 increase in maximum.

Not only in fixing scales of pay, but also in regard to the women's claim to higher and more responsible posts have these members of the House of Commons shown themselves utterly indifferent to women's interests. It has been stated by the heads of departments—men, in all cases—that women do not mind doing dull, monotonous work (rather like it, in fact), the only proof of this being that women do it conscientiously. It has been stated that they are incapable of doing work on which they have never been tried, whilst it was admitted that they had been successful in every kind of work which had so far been given them.

That the Holt Committee should have accepted all these statements, and, completely setting aside the arguments of the women, should have acted upon them in drawing up their Report is, however disappointing, hardly a matter for surprise. Appointed by a Government at the head of which are men who have treated with contempt women's claim to the vote, they acted upon their preconceived idea that woman's place in the State is necessarily a subordinate one, and it will only be when women have won the first step and obtained recognition as citizens that they will be likely to meet with a wider or more enlightened view of their capabilities.

THE CANDIDATE WHO WAS NOT ELECTED

By Cicely Wroughton.

There was a By-election, and the Government Candidate—none too sure of the result—sat in his office awaiting impatiently the arrival of his agent.

"Well," he said, "what success?" when the agent, looking very hot, entered the room.

"Very little," he replied; "there is not a woman I can trust in the town who is willing to canvass. You have only one chance, though I warn you it is a bad one—that is the Anti-Suffrage women. You must by all means speak at their meeting to-night."

"D—— nuisance, the whole thing!" the ex-M.P. remarked crossly. "Wish to goodness I hadn't been so open about my Anti-Suffrage views. Suppose it's too late to change now!"

"It's out of the question," the agent replied emphatically; "you must see the thing through now, and trust that by promising the Anti ladies to oppose Woman Suffrage you may induce them to canvass for you."

"The worst of it is," the Government Candidate went on disconsolately, "they are such rotten bad canvassers."

"That is true," retorted the agent; "but at least they are not sexless!"

"Seems to me, sex makes jolly little difference when it's the matter of an election," said the Candidate.

His agent cleared his throat and glanced cautiously round the room.

"That remark is hardly in accordance with your views," he said. "You cannot have it both ways. Either women must be sexless and educated and stand on stumps in the street and make it pretty plain that they are human beings with human grievances like men, or they must be docile and ladylike and have no ideas of their own, and, in fact, be true women as no doubt God intended them to be."

"Yes, but it's d——d awkward," remarked the ex-M.P. "Last time the Suffragist women worked for me."

"Yes, and got you in on the strength of your pledges," chipped in the agent.

"Women have no right to expect a man to stick to his pledges. Why, they are not even electors."

"How many times am I to remind you, you are an Anti-Suffragist?" the agent said hotly.

"I wouldn't have been if I had foreseen this election," was the reply.

The Anti-Suffrage meeting was poorly attended, perhaps because the audience were made to sign a paper before entering declaring themselves Anti-Suffragists. There was a sprinkling of ladies in hobble skirts, and a sprinkling of elderly females whose clothes might have been made by Queen Victoria's dressmaker. There was a sprinkling of men who bore a resemblance to the Gladstonian age, and another sprinkling on whom the police commented to each other. But the tirade against the sexless women who made one blush to think of—who made all "true" women ashamed of their womanhood—left nothing to be demanded. Could a true woman want a vote? An instrument of degradation that would drag her into the arena of political life!

At this point in the speech the agent was seen to give the speaker a dig in the ribs. He hastily switched off that tack and explained that it was, of course, understood that a woman canvassing to help a man was a completely different matter, though he did not drive this point home to a logical conclusion.

Then came the knotty point—would the Anti-Suffrage ladies canvass? Yes, some of them would. It was, of course, a right and proper thing that they should do so.

* * * * * *

So out into the hurly-burly of politics they went; into the political arena where no decent woman should put her foot. Some of them would have stood on a stump, only this was too much like the sexless ones. One or two succeeded in collecting a little crowd, but they did not remain—for the Anti-Suffrage speakers had nothing to tell them. They had not come there to hear that "Men are men"; they knew that before they came. The Anti-Suffrage ladies, deep down in their hearts, felt horribly envious of a sexless sister who held entranced a large and interested crowd.

* * * * * *

The Government Candidate had been defeated. Disconsolate, he presented himself at the office of the local Society for Woman's Suffrage, and told the Secretary he had altered his views.

"It is too late now," she replied; "we supported you once and you broke your pledge."

"But so did my opponent!" the unseated M.P. cried.

"Exactly," said the Suffragist; "so did your opponent, and for this reason we have pledged ourselves to support no candidate at elections till women get the vote."

The late Government Candidate glanced round the room to make sure that no late constituent was in hiding, then he said:

"You know something about politics; what would you advise me to do?"

"There is nothing for you to do now," she said, "but wait till women have the vote, then trust the Anti-Suffragists may elect you."

THE SPOILT DARLING OF THE LAW

COMPARISON OF PUNISHMENTS

For being Poor—a Man

The *Daily Citizen* (August 25) reports the case of a porter charged at Greenwich Police Court before Mr. Hutton, with stealing six pairs of stockings from his employers. Defence was poverty; he worked twelve hours a day for 14s. a week, and was ill at the time. Sentence: *Bound over under Probation Act.*

For being a Cruel Father

The *Child's Guardian* (September) reports case of a labourer at Southend charged with what the Chairman of the Bench called an "unmerciful beating" of his son, who was found "black and blue," and was said to stay away sometimes all night for fear of his father. Father produced strap with buckle which he admitted having used. Sentence: *A fine of £2, with 4s. costs.*

For Ruining Little Girls

The *Manchester Guardian* (August 29) reports case of Alfred Hall, charged at Bolton with an assault upon a little girl of eleven at a picture palace. The magistrates said it was a "serious" case. Sentence: *20s. and costs, or one month.*

The *Yorkshire Telegraph and Star* (July 30) reports the case of William Sweeney, a labourer, who was convicted of indecently assaulting a little girl at Attercliffe. Sentence: *Fined £3 by the Stipendiary.*

For being Poor—Three Women

The *Daily Telegraph* (August 25) reports the case of three women found sleeping out in Holland Park Avenue "without visible means of subsistence." They were charged before Mr. Fordham at West London Police Court, who denounced their action as "a mischievous practice." Sentence: *14 days' hard labour.*

For being a Neglectful Mother

The *Daily Telegraph* (September 1) reports case of a mother summoned before Mr. Horace Smith at Westminster for cruelty to her boy and girl "by gross neglect." Children had been found wandering in a ragged and neglected state, the mother in her defence saying that when her husband was out of work she made artificial flowers and sold them in the street. Sentence: *Male defendant bound over; the woman sentenced to 6 weeks' hard labour for her "shameful and disgraceful neglect."*

For Stealing

At the August Sessions, Clerkenwell, Ada Hope was convicted of stealing. There were previous convictions. Mr. Lawrie, in sentencing her, said: "If you come back again you shall go to penal servitude." Sentence: *18 months' imprisonment.*

At the same Sessions Emily L. James was convicted of obtaining goods under false pretences. There were previous convictions. Sentence: *4 months' hard labour.*

The Anti-Suffragist is never tired of asserting that woman is the spoilt darling of the law, a comfortable theory that appears to be based mainly upon three half-truths—

(1) That a husband is responsible for his wife's debts.

(2) That he is theoretically bound to maintain her.

(3) That a woman may get damages from a man if she proves breach of promise against him.

That these are only half-truths will be realised when it is remembered (1) that a husband may repudiate all liability for his wife's debts by a public statement to that effect. (2) That a wife possessing means of her own is equally bound to maintain a penurious husband, and also that a working woman living with her husband has no effective means of compelling him to maintain her, and (3) that a man may also get damages from a woman for breach of promise, and has actually done so on more than one occasion.

The reason why the woman more often figures as the recipient of advantage under these laws is that the man is generally the richer, and also in the case of husband and wife, because the man is being paid in cash for his labour, while the woman is *giving her labour without any direct remuneration* to her husband. We may be quite sure therefore that even so far as these laws are concerned women would very gladly exchange places with men.

When we come to other matters we find that nowhere is the inferior status of the woman so often demonstrated as in the courts of law; first, in the heavier sentences given for damage to property than for damage to the persons of women and children, and, secondly, in the heavier sentences given to women than to men when both are charged with the same offence, especially in cases of cruelty and neglect of children. We give on this page instances of such cases, while pointing out that we are not necessarily demanding that heavier sentences should be given generally—penal reform not being the business of voteless women—but that a more just and human sense of proportion should be shown in the distribution of sentences.

PENALISING THE WOMAN

In a case we give briefly in our "Comparison of Punishments," that of the young married couple summoned before Mr. Horace Smith for neglect of their children, the counsel for the prosecution said that the woman defendant, who had left her home, was the person really responsible, the husband's offence being that, *with eyes to see what was going on, he had not appreciated the situation.*

The *Daily Telegraph* proceeds to say:—"In the course of her defence the female defendant made the statement that at a period when her husband was out of employment she made artificial flowers and sold them in the street, though suffering at the time from an infectious malady."

It is difficult to see why, in view of the fact that, legally, the father and not the mother is the parent of the child, Mr. Horace Smith should have ordered the male defendant to be bound over, "at the same time pointing out his responsibility," while he gave the mother, who is not the parent of the children in the eyes of the law, and therefore has no legal responsibility, six weeks' hard labour and a lecture on her "shameful and disgraceful neglect."

That children should be protected from bad parents is essential. But why is the mother nearly always the parent to be penalised?

"Ought to Have Kept His Eye on the Child"

Similarly, at Tamworth, where the justices recently gave a woman a month's imprisonment, "with such hard labour as the prison surgeon might think fit," for shamefully neglecting a baby in her charge, the man who was accused with her was acquitted, though the chairman said "the Bench thought the man ought to have kept his eye on the child." This case is reported in the September issue of the *Child's Guardian*.

ASSAULTS UPON LITTLE GIRLS

We give two terrible cases, this week, of assaults upon little girls which are thought of so little importance by magistrates, that they consider a mere fine is sufficient to impose as a punishment and a deterrent.

In the case of the man Hall at Bolton, the counsel for the prosecution said he felt it his duty to urge upon the magistrates that this class of offence in local entertainment houses should be met with severe punishment.

And the magistrates appeared to agree, for they, too, said it was a serious case, and they were determined to protect young children from such men.

What did their "determination" and their "protection" amount to? Twenty pieces of silver for a little girl's ruin!

"Only to Save up £3"

With regard to the second case, that of the man Sweeney, who paid for an assault upon a little girl at Attercliffe with the paltry sum of £3, an observer in the district, writing to the *Child's Guardian*, says with justice that "the offender has only to save up another £3, when he will feel free to continue his evil practice."

THE MASCULINE APOLOGIST

Last week we commented on the extraordinary defence advanced on behalf of a man whose "rugged honesty" impelled him to admit that he had broken the head of a woman with a saucepan because he had the noble instinct to wish to keep her to himself. The *Western Morning News* (August 20) reports the case of a Plymouth man who was charged before the magistrates with "being disorderly."

He had been seen to "rush across the road towards a woman," who was heard to scream, and was afterwards found lying unconscious in the road. She was his wife, and when a crowd assembled they were treated to bad language from her assailant because they "resented" his treatment of her.

Apparently he was not arrested for this amount of disorderliness, for later, after midnight, the man's six children rushed out of their home into the road, partly clad, and he was then apprehended. The Chief Constable, in his defence, said the prisoner was "a good husband when out of drink."

He was fined five shillings and costs, or seven days.

How much cheaper is it to strike a wife unconscious than to commit a petty theft, or to break a pane of glass with a disinterested motive!

WOMEN EXCLUDED FROM COURT

We have often protested against the grave scandal of leaving a girl witness alone in a court from which all women have been excluded. It is a scandal in any case that women should be excluded while men are admitted, women being as much a part of the public as men; but this is aggravated tenfold when a little girl is in the witness box, forced to give details of an assault made upon her, while no woman, not even her mother, is there to protect her by her presence.

A Doctor's Protest

A doctor writes a strong letter to the Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children, on the case of a little girl of eleven, placed in this position. "This unfortunate child," he writes, "was made to stand upon a chair before a full bench of magistrates (five or seven in number), and in full view of a number of people in court, also the Press, and witnesses in this and two other cases, and give *full* details of everything that happened to her. The sight was a very painful one to me, and I was disgusted that a small girl should have to give such evidence in open court. Certainly women were asked to retire, but I can see no reason why a number of dirty old men should be allowed to remain in court and gloat over the details which it is necessary to go into in a case of this sort."

We see no reason either, nor why women had been asked to retire if men were allowed to remain; and we know that when woman is no longer the spoilt darling of the law but the political equal of man, this sort of thing will not be allowed to happen. The *Child's Guardian*, commenting on this case, says:—

"The justices have power to hear in camera, and while girl witnesses are being examined and cross-examined they should exercise it. Also, whenever a girl is in the witness box, she should have a woman near her, and not be left in a court with men only."

"THE PRIVILEGED SEX"

To the Editors of Votes for Women.

Dear Editors,—May I draw your attention to a paragraph in this week's *Lloyd's* Sunday newspaper (August 31) headed "Young Mother," which states that at the Westminster Police Court, before Mr. Horace Smith, on August 30, the N.S.P.C.C. prosecuted parents for gross neglect of their children, aged seven and 2 respectively. Mr. Treharne, solicitor for the Society, held the woman responsible for leaving the home, and Mr. H. Smith gave her six weeks' hard labour while letting the father off with a caution.

Is this justice? And who now looks after those children? Man-made law contends that the father is the legal parent of the child, and yet does not recognise that it is as much his duty as the mother's to see they are not neglected.

I also know of a case where the mother had to go out, carrying her infant in her arms, to earn pence by selling bootlaces, as her husband was ill and they were starving. Members of the public gave coppers, but declined the laces in exchange. She was given one week's imprisonment. What can a woman do in a case like this? It appears to me that the majority of magistrates are devoid of humanity and blind to justice. Hearing of such cases, is it any wonder Suffragettes are more determined than ever never to rest until the vote is won, and that more members join their ranks daily? Wishing your splendid paper and our movement every success.—Yours, &c.,

Isabella Fairweather.

THE INCORRUPTIBLE WITNESS

Highgate magistrate: Have you any witnesses?—Woman: Yes. Magistrate: Are your witnesses here?—Woman: Yes, here is one (pointing to a black eye).—**Daily Herald.**

CASE OF MRS. HARVEY

Two Months' Imprisonment for Tax Resistance

Mrs. Harvey, of Bromley, Kent, was taken to Holloway Gaol on Monday last to undergo a sentence of two months' imprisonment in the second division in default of paying fines imposed upon her for non-payment of the National Insurance Tax. As we reported in Votes for Women on July 25 and August 22, Mrs. Harvey refused to pay Insurance dues or licence for her gardener, by name Asquith, and barricaded her house and grounds against the tax-collector. On July 28 she was fined £16 17s. 10d. and £5 14s.; "special costs" were asked for and granted, and in default she was sentenced to one month's imprisonment, having previously been sentenced to a month's imprisonment on July 21. These are the two sentences which have now been put into effect. Numbers of persons are resisting the Insurance Act in Great Britain, and many cases have been brought before the courts and nominal fines only have been imposed on the defendants, a course which was not followed in the case of Mrs. Harvey.

To the Editors of Votes for Women.

Dear Editors,—We write to protest against the extraordinary partial administration of justice in this country. Thousands of persons are resisting the Insurance Act in Great Britain; many cases have been brought before the Courts and nominal fines only have been imposed on the defendants. When, however, it is a case of a woman, and a Suffragist, resisting this Act, who from the point of view of principle, objects to paying taxes because she is not represented in the counsels of the nation, a heavy penalty is exacted.

Mrs. Harvey, of Bromley, Kent, who refused to pay her Insurance dues in respect of her gardener, William David Asquith, or the licence for him, was fined as follows:

For refusal to pay Insurance dues:

	£	s.	d.
£1 fine on each count	10	0	0
Arrears of insurance amounting to		5	10
Court fees	4	10	0
"Special costs," asked for by the Insurance Commissioners	2	2	0
	16	17	10
For refusal to pay the licence:			
Fine	5	0	0
Costs		14	0
	5	14	0

And since she declined to pay these fines, Mrs. Harvey has to-day been conveyed to Holloway Gaol for two months' imprisonment in the second division. We think these facts speak for themselves.

Mrs. Harvey spends her life in working for the betterment of conditions under which our poorer children live, and has never failed to help those weaker than herself. She believes that until women have a voice in making the laws, no satisfactory legislation will be carried through for the protection of girls and children. For this reason she protests against the exclusion of women from full citizenship rights, and the answer of men's representatives is two months' imprisonment in the second division.

Charlotte Despard.
Florence A. Underwood.

Sept. 1, 1913.

SUFFRAGISTS WHO ARE NOW IN PRISON

Name.	Date of Conviction.	Sentence.	Place of Imprisonment.
Mr. Donald McEwan ...	May 19	9 months	Calton Gaol, Edinburgh
Miss Lake*	June 17	6 months	Warwick
Miss Kathleen Jarvis*	(1) July 29	2 months' hard labour	
„	(2) Aug. 11	2 months' hard labour	Holloway
Mr. John Manders	Aug. 11	2 months' hard labour	Pentonville
Mrs. Harvey	Sept. 1	2 months	Holloway

* Re-arrested under Cat and Mouse Act.

REVOLUTIONARY ACTIONS

The following incidents have been attributed in the Press during the week to Suffragists:—

Wednesday, August 27. — Supposed "bomb" found on steps of Cheltenham Town Hall early in the morning.

Saturday, August 30.—Outbreak of fire in house in Melbury Road, Newcastle.

Sunday, August 31.—Wires cut of public telephone call-boxes at the Mansion House Railway Station.

Attempt to fire International Schools Cricket Pavilion, Hampstead.

Tuesday, September 2.—Black greasy fluid poured into letter-boxes at Folkestone; telephone wires also cut.

◆

MRS. PANKHURST

Petition for Release

We published in our last issue a petition for the release of Mrs. Pankhurst, signed by many influential citizens, which had been addressed by the Rev. A. W. Evans, of Bedford Park, to the Prime Minister. This was forwarded by Mr. Asquith to the Home Secretary on the assumption that the matter came within his jurisdiction, and the following reply has been forwarded from the Home Office by Sir Edward Troup, dated August 30:—

"The Prime Minister having forwarded to the Home Secretary your recent letter with regard to the case of Mrs. Pankhurst, I am directed by Mr. McKenna to say in reply that he thinks you have misapprehended the facts with regard to the administration of the Prisoners' (Temporary Discharge for Ill-health Act. Nothing has been done under the Act which could be the cause of injury to Mrs. Pankhurst's health. So far as the medical officer could judge when she was last in prison (she refused to allow herself to be examined) her health had not in fact been seriously injured; but if her health has suffered in any way while in prison it is due solely to her own voluntary refusal of food, and not in any way to the administration of the Act, which has been used only to prevent her carrying the refusal of food to the point of suicide.

"Only Nineteen Days"

"Mrs. Pankhurst is under sentence of three years' penal servitude for felony, and of that sentence she has served only nineteen days; and the Secretary of State feels that, unless he received from her an assurance that she would for the future abstain from all crime or incitement to crime, it is impossible for him advise His Majesty to grant her any pardon or remission of sentence.

"As regards the case of Edward Cargill, it is clear that you have been entirely misinformed. This man was released after serving a substantial part of his sentence of nine months' imprisonment because he was suffering from aneurism of the aorta, which appeared, on the testimony of the independent medical man who examined him, to be incurable, and almost certain to cause his death within a short time. His illness was not caused by his misconduct in prison, and he could not therefore be released under the Prisoners' (Temporary Discharge) Act, which applies only when the illness is caused by the prisoner's own misconduct in prison. As the Secretary of State had no discretion to release him conditionally, it was necessary, if he were not to be left to die in prison, to remit what was left of his sentence. If the Secretary of State had power to have him arrested he would, in the event of his recovery, not hesitate for a moment to exercise that power."

◆

MRS. DRUMMOND

We are glad to be able to state that Mrs. Drummond has sufficiently recovered from her severe operation (to undergo which her trial, which should have taken place at the same time as that of the other W.S.P.U. conspirators, was postponed until October 8 next) to be able to travel to Scotland, where she is now taking a complete rest.

◆

PRESS OPINIONS

ARE THEY BOTH RIGHT?

Mr. McKenna makes the one possible reply which as Home Secretary he could give to the petition on behalf of Mrs. Pankhurst. He can only advise the King to grant a remission of sentence or a pardon on an assurance that Mrs. Pankhurst will in future refrain from all crime or incitement to crime.—**Westminster Gazette.**

In the agitation of mind into which the activities of the militants have thrown him Mr. McKenna seems to have forgotten even the most elementary conceptions of the administration of justice. . . . The Home Secretary has never before so utterly failed in his duty; surely this suggested bargain with a felon marks the limit of Mr. McKenna's incompetence.—**Globe.**

TRY, TRY, TRY AGAIN!

On this we have at the moment only one comment to make: If the facts be as Mr. McKenna states, why has he allowed Mrs. Pankhurst recently to address two public meetings and to go abroad for a holiday? The Home Secretary should at least try to be consistent.—**Christian Commonwealth.**

THE SUFFRAGISTS' BOAST

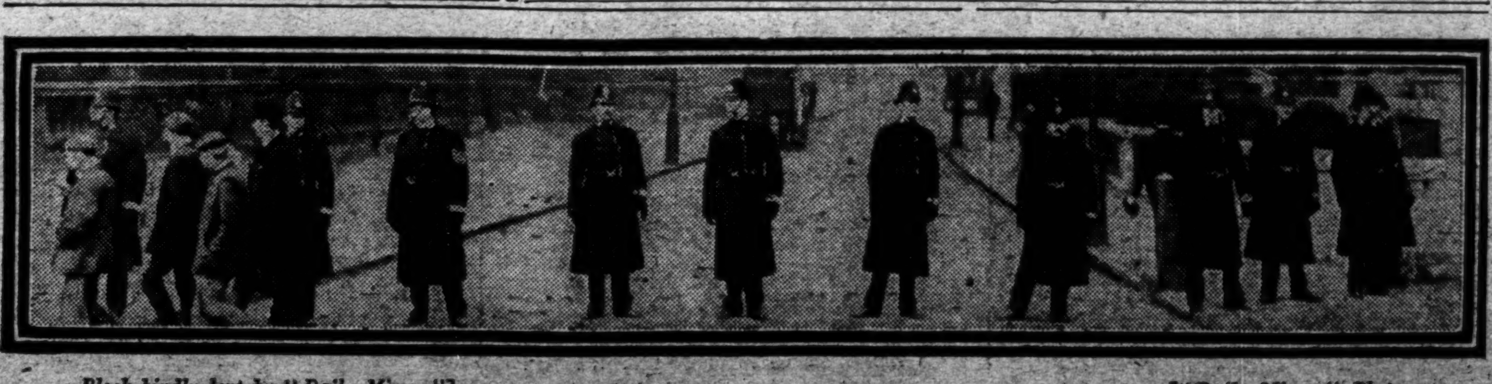
The Suffragists can boast that it is they who are responsible for all this inconvenience and worry. Individual Ministers receive protection on special grounds. Lord Morley was carefully guarded against danger from Indian fanatics, and Mr. McKenna in the ordinary course would be protected from attack by the numerous persons who feel they have a grievance against the Home Secretary, but it is the Suffragists who have attached detectives to every Minister, and the incident at Lossiemouth shows that the protection is needed.—**South Wales Daily News.**

OUR HUMOROUS PRESS

A fly (who was clearly not a militant, for it happened in New Zealand) has burnt a house down. The insect got itself alight by flying through a gas-jet, and in its fall set the window curtains ablaze—hence the conflagration. "Burn that house!" may yet become the flies' answer to "Kill that fly!"—**Punch.**

Cabinet Golf

"I once took a thirty-four to the ninth hole at Archerfield, which I think is the record. The score was accounted for by the fact that a party of Suffragettes kept kicking my ball away from the hole every time I putted. They certainly held out nothing in the nature of 'olive branches.'" —H. H. Asquith.—**Punch.**



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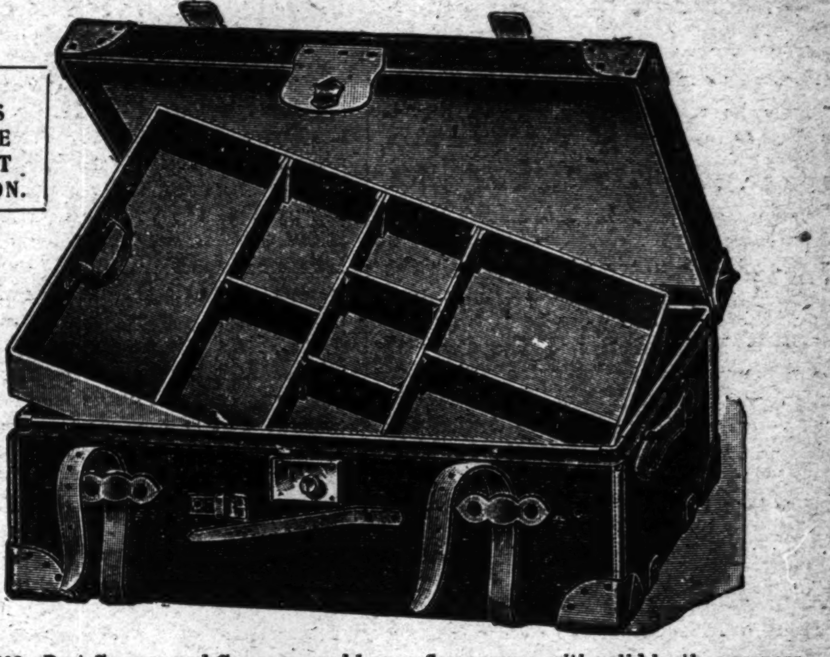

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SUFFRAGISTS AND THE PRIME MINISTER

On Thursday afternoon in last week the Prime Minister was attacked by two women Suffragists as he was playing a round of golf on the Moray Golf Course, at Lossiemouth, Elginshire. About half-past five, when Mr. Asquith reached the seventeenth green with his daughter, the two women, one wearing a green and the other a white jersey, suddenly appeared and seized hold of him, and, according to the Press Association account, dragged him about and knocked off his hat. Miss Asquith went to her father's assistance and called out to the two detectives who are always in attendance on the Prime Minister, and who at once hastened up and arrested his assailants.

The two women were taken by motor-car to the Elgin Police Station. They refused to divulge their identity, and were lodged in the cells for the night, and one of them, adds the *Scotsman*, declined to take food of any kind.

Declaration Not "Emitted"

On the following morning, as the defendants still refused to give their names and addresses, they were taken before the Sheriff, in accordance with the Scottish procedure, to "emit a declaration" *in camera*. The *Scotsman* reports that on their being asked if they would like to have an agent, they declined. They also declined to emit any declaration of any kind. They applied for bail, and on the Sheriff refusing to entertain the proposal unless they disclosed their identity, they gave their names and addresses as Miss Winnie Wallace, 61, Nethergate, Dundee; and Miss Flora Helen Smith, 27, Frederick Street, Edinburgh.

Bail was then fixed at £10.

The Charge

Later in the day the two Suffragists were brought before Sheriff Dunlop in the Court House, and charged, under the Summary Jurisdiction (Scotland) Act, 1908, with "assaulting the Right Hon. Herbert Henry Asquith, residing at Hopeman Lodge, Hopeman, on the seventeenth green while on the course of the Moray Golf Club, in the parish of Drainie, by pulling his coat and knocking off his hat, and with behaving in a disorderly manner and committing a breach of the peace."

The defendants again declined to be represented by an agent, and also refused to stand up in the dock until the Sheriff intimated that it was the custom for the accused to do so while the charge was being read, upon which one of the defendants was heard to remark, "Oh, well, we had better stand up if it pleases them," and they did so.

Both pleaded "not guilty," and the trial was fixed for to-day (Friday) at 10.30 a.m. Bail was allowed in £5 each.

THEY STARED AT HIM

Last Sunday the same two Suffragists, who were released on bail, attended Duffus Parish Church, where they occupied a pew opposite that of the Prime Minister, and, according to accounts in the Press, caused him great annoyance by staring at him during the service. Afterwards they were followed out of church by two policemen; but it is said that they succeeded in addressing Mr. Asquith as he left the church.

CHARGE WITHDRAWN

On Wednesday a statement appeared in the evening papers to the effect that no further proceedings would be taken against the two suffragists.

◆

OUR LEVEL-HEADED PRESS

Whom Are We to Believe?

"A struggle was waged, the militants *shouting wildly about justice for women*."—**Daily Mail.**

"It is a rather piquant feature of the affair, I hear, that *neither of them succeeded in addressing their usual hysterical demands to Mr. Asquith*, so promptly did the detectives deal with the situation."—**The Correspondent of the "Daily Chronicle."**

THE MOVEMENT IN ITALY

An interesting manifesto is being circulated among women all over the South of Italy by the Neapolitan Woman Suffrage Committee. It was written by Signora Scodnik, whose address on "Woman and the Law" made so much impression recently in Naples; and its wide circulation, will it is hoped, remove from Southern Italy the reproach so often made that its women are both ignorant and indifferent.

The following is a translation of the manifesto:—

"Women, you are earnestly besought to reflect upon your conditions!

"To whatever social rank you may belong, you are victims of unjust laws, because these laws are made by men only, exclusively in their own interests.

"They have accustomed you to be accounted as nothing in civil partnership. Flattered whilst young and pretty, later despised, your life is one long resignation and sacrifice, made in the fulfilment of arduous duties.

"The whole country will soon be in the throes of a general election. Your men folk will be able to choose their representatives in Parliament, i.e., the members who make the laws, administer and guard the interests of different classes of society.

"You cannot vote: you are denied this right, as are idiots, malefactors, and lunatics. Do you not feel the injustice of it? Is it not an indignity to be considered on the level of imbeciles?

"Think of it! Many of you have had to go out to work, and many do so now, in workshops and laboratories, in State and other offices. You have interests to defend; no one listens to you. You are not electors: you are not organised, and are forced to have recourse to the often interested protection of this or that authority, to the complete loss of your own dignity.

"Think of it, O women! And while not ceasing to be loving and to live for the family, fulfilling your duties, organise yourselves, if you wish to be heard, and demand the municipal and political vote, as these are possessed by the men. For since you are equal before God, you must also be equal before the laws of the country.

"Il Comitato Napoletano Pro-Suffragio Femminile.

"(Neapolitan Woman Suffrage Committee)."

"A Stanza of the Marseillaise"

Under the title, "Il Voto alle Donne," a weekly Florentine paper called *La Voce* prints an interesting leader on the woman suffrage movement in its issue of August 14. The opening words are brief and to the point:

"Subito. A tutte. E dovere."

To readers of Votes for Women the most interesting passage will be that dealing with the militant agitation in England, of which the following is a free translation:—

"England, the nationalist nation *par excellence,* which in modern times has given nothing to the world except the civil disaster of Waterloo and the unbounded but empty swagger of a formal Power, enters at last into the story of the nations with a contribution of light and of thought. The cry 'Votes for Women,' full of the future, is worthy of a stanaz of the Marseillaise. All honour to the noble women who are suffering, striving, and conquering, to this battle-cry."

IN NORWAY

The First Woman Judge

The first woman judge has been appointed in Norway, at Hammerfest. She is Miss Ruth Sörensen, who was born in 1877 and passed her examination as a lawyer in 1900.

The Cost of Living

Now that we in this country are so deeply concerned about the rise in the cost of living, it is interesting to find that in Norway, where women are now on an absolute political equality with men, they have been using their power to reduce food prices, and therefore the cost of living, by establishing a direct connection between producer and consumer. This, at all events, is the claim made for the women voters of her country by Frau Luise Kailhau, member of the Norwegian Parliament, who was speaking on the subject not long ago in Vienna; and it shows what the State loses in other countries where the nation's housekeepers are not allowed a voice in the household matters of the State.

IN INDIA

First Public Meeting

(From a Correspondent.)

There has been much interest aroused all over this country by the accounts in the leading newspapers of the doings of the extreme wing of the women's army. The question is now in the air. Private meetings have been held in many places, but to Mussoorie, in the far Himalayas, belongs the honour of holding the first public meeting to discuss the movement. It was held in the beautiful hall of "The Deodars," the home of Miss Swetenham and Miss Weatherley. Over 200 people assembled there on July 1, to hear Mrs. McLaren and the Rev. Mr. Marwick. Mrs. Hallowes was in the chair, and in her opening remarks said she supposed she was the oldest Suffragist in the room, having for the past thirty-five years been a worker, and an observer in the woman's movement, which began in Great Britain sixty years ago. Mrs. McLaren spoke of the need of the vote to ensure just legislation for women, instancing many unjust laws, and showing the unfair way in which women are being treated under the Insurance Act.

Mr. Marwick spoke of the woman's movement in its wider aspect, as the growing revolt, conscious or instructive, against woman's subjection to man, and the claim of the intellectual and spiritually alive minority to freedom in the full sense of that word. "Is it any wonder," asked Mr. Marwick, "that India is affected by this world-wide movement, and that we are met to discuss certain aspects of it? We have a right and a duty to do so. Publicly, as well as privately, we shall discuss it in its every aspect until men and women alike understand its inner meaning. Our victory is sure."

A Second Meeting

A second meeting was held a fortnight later in the Alexandria Hotel, by the special request of the proprietors. (Globe-trotting Suffragists, please note!) Miss Swetenham, in presiding, said they dared not neglect to pay attention to what was the supreme question of the hour—the enfranchisement of women. She said the woman movement is a trumpet-call to face a world of new forces, new situations, new needs, and new demands. Facts were then given, showing how the same spirit was abroad in China, Turkey, Persia, India; in fact, all the world over, women united by a common bond were pressing forward. Mrs. Hallowes, in her speech, referred specially to the statement that to introduce this subject into India was not wise. She said she had discussed the subject with several Indian gentlemen, and they were of opinion that political freedom for English women would mean that the women of India, who formed fully three-fourths of all the women of the Empire, would benefit thereby. "There are all these women needing to have their interests represented in the councils of the Empire," said Mrs. Hallowes.

A Society Formed

The result of the two meetings has been the formation of a strong little society of thirty members. It has been affiliated to the N.U.W.S.S. There has been a good deal of opposition, the Antis bringing forward many objections, of which the principal ones were: (1) that it was unwomanly to refer to social evils in public; (2) that Suffragists could not think Imperially; (3) that it would be bad for the women of India if England's women were enfranchised. They spoke well, as far as mere speaking went, but one could but feel sorry that women of such evident ability were so blinding themselves to the real issues at stake.

The meetings were closed by singing the National Anthem.

IN AUSTRALASIA

Our special correspondent writes that the lecturing tour conducted by Miss Newcomb and Miss Margaret Hodge throughout Australasia continues to spread the light with regard to the movement in England, and especially concerning the militant movement. At the end of June and the beginning of July many meetings were held in Brisbane, and later in July at Sydney. Audiences everywhere were keenly anxious to hear the truth about the militant movement, which has been much misrepresented in Greater as in Great Britain.

The Federal Vote

Miss Harriet C. Newcomb (Hon. Secretary Australian and New Zealand Women Voters' Association, London) writes from Sydney, N.S.W.:—"May I beg that in another issue of the list of countries where the women are enfranchised the *Commonwealth* of Australia may be included? In the delightful cartoon, 'How she grows' (see Votes for Women, June 13), the *States* of Australia are given separately, but the Commonwealth is omitted."

We are glad to have this omission pointed out to us. The Federal Parliament enfranchised the women of Australia in 1902.

Chapter 4

It's Getting Old-fashioned

to scrub clothes on wash-day.

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CORRESPONDENCE

"WOMEN TEACHERS AND THE INSURANCE ACT"

To the Editors of Votes for Women.

Dear Editors,—In the current issue of Votes for Women, Miss Margaret Wright says:—"Only one section of teachers under the £160 income limit is exempt, viz., elementary teachers.

This, however, is not quite the case, for all the elementary teachers who did not accept the Government Superannuation Scheme of 1898—which was then optional, but has since been made compulsory—must perforce be insured under the Insurance Act. Being one of this section of teachers, perhaps my experience may be of interest to your readers. I am used to a woman doctor, and as there were no medical women on the Panel in my district, I wrote to the Insurance Commissioners for permission to make my own medical arrangements, as per Official Leaflet, No. 7, par 3.

In reply, I was told: "Your application has been considered, and the Committee are not able to consent," &c., &c.

A second letter produced the same reply. I wrote a third time, pointing out that the answers were unsatisfactory, that their ruling deliberately deprived me of all benefits under the Act, for which I was compelled to pay.

The reply to this was addressed "Dear Sir," and directed to Mr. L. C. Hart, saying the Committee "Do not consider that the ground upon which your application is based is sufficient, and they therefore have to decline to grant your application." Again I wrote, saying I thought the letter showed some confusion, and asked that my appeal be reconsidered. After waiting a fortnight, I wrote to our Member of Parliament, stating my case, and asking advice as to how I might obtain relief under the circumstances. Ten days later I received a letter from the Insurance Commissioners to the effect that a copy of my letter to the M.P. had been forwarded to them, and that they were prepared to favourably consider my application, and enclosed a form, which I duly filled up. I have now permission to make my own arrangements for receiving medical attendance and treatment, thus proving that while the officials thought they had only a working woman to deal with, it was safe to ignore her. When, however, the influence of a Cabinet Minister was evoked, things assumed a different aspect.—Yours, &c.,

Louisa C. Hart.

11, Sylvan Road, Walthamstow. August 30, 1913.

PROPOSED MEMORIAL TO THE LATE MR. WALTER McLAREN, M.P.

To the Editors of Votes for Women.

Dear Editors,—It is well known to all who have been intimately associated with the long struggle to gain civic rights for women, there died last year, in the person of Mr. Walter S. B. McLaren, a life-long champion of their cause, a man who, son of Mrs. Priscilla Bright McLaren, and nephew of John and Jacob Bright, resolutely turned aside from all personal advancement to take upon himself the burden and the care of ceaseless watching over the interests of all legislation for the benefit of women that came before the House of Commons during the years in which he sat in Parliament. His labour was no popular one, and he made his own interests subordinate to the aim to which he had pledged his career. In the din of our own time his devotion to the duty he had set himself is too easily forgotten.

In order to pay a fitting tribute to his self-sacrificing service for women in everything affecting their social, moral, and industrial status, an influential Committee, representing the principal societies with which Mr. Walter McLaren was connected, has been formed to raise a permanent memorial. Mr. Courtenay Pollock, R.B.A., has been approached, and asked to furnish sculptural sketches. He has entered enthusiastically into the scheme, and the Committee are confident that, if there is an adequate public response to their appeal, they will be able to secure a memorial that will do honour to the women's cause both as a tribute and as a work of art. It is confidently expected that there will be a widespread desire on the part of those who are interested in the Women's Movement to contribute to the fund that is now being raised, and as more than £300 has been quickly offered in private donations already, the Committee beg to place before the public this appeal for subscriptions, so that a fitting memorial may be set up in a public place in London to do honour to the noble citizenship of one who toiled and wrought unceasingly and untiringly through rain and shine his lifelong for good government, righteous laws, the sanctity of the home, and the freedom and equality of women and men before the law.

The vast advance in the position of women to-day is not without a heavy debt to the life devotion of Walter McLaren. A tribute to his memory should need scanty advocacy throughout the whole of the Women's Movement.

Contributions should be sent to the Treasurer, Mrs. James Stuart, Carrow Abbey, Norwich, or to the Hon. Secretary, Miss Bertha Mason, 6, Hans Place, London, S.W., to whom cheques and postal orders should be made payable, and crossed "The Walter McLaren Memorial Fund."—On behalf of the General Committee, your obedient servants,

J. T. Kingsley Tarpey.
Haldane Macfall.
Bertha Mason, Hon. Sec.
Art Sub-Committee.

August, 1913.

NEW CONSTITUTIONAL SOCIETY FOR WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE.

8, Park Mansions Arcade, Knightsbridge

President: Mrs. Cecil Chapman

The office has been reopened since September 1, and the autumn campaign already begun. Will those members who have returned to town, anxious to give some of their time to the Cause, please write to Miss Burnaby?

WHITECHAPEL CAMPAIGN.—Much important work has been planned for the autumn, but at present our principal efforts are being concentrated upon Whitechapel. It will be remembered that at the recent by-election the N.C.S. helped considerably to reduce Sir Stuart Samuel's majority. But it was felt at the time that it is not sufficient to go down during an election; if desirable results are to be obtained constituencies should be worked beforehand, and we must make sure that at the next election the nominee of the Government figures at the bottom of the poll. Principally with this end in view, the Whitechapel campaign has been planned. It is not unlikely that a general election will be upon us sooner than many people anticipate. In any case, it is well to be prepared for all eventualities, and it would be a fine achievement to lay low any member of the present most iniquitous Government. Every member of the N.C.S. is therefore urged to "play up" to the efforts and intentions of the committee. An office has been taken at 136, Whitechapel Road, nearest station St. Mary's District Railway. A thorough and systematic canvass of the whole constituency is being organised, and open-air meetings will be held daily. The culminating feature of the campaign will take place on Saturday afternoon, October 1. A Mass Meeting will be held on Tower Hill, preceded by a procession in which it is hoped many other societies will join. Members please make a note of this date; and, in the meantime, send in your names to Miss McGowan stating how much time you can give.

FUTURE MEETINGS

Friday, September 5.—Whitechapel, Fulbourne Street, 8 p.m.

Sunday, September 7.—Hyde Park, noon. Mrs. Kerr, Mrs. Merivale Mayer, Miss McGowan.

Monday, September 8. — Whitechapel, Church Lane, 8 p.m.

Tuesday, September 9.—Whitechapel, Mile End Waste, 8 p.m.

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THE HOME SECRETARY AND REDUCTION OF SENTENCES

We published in our issue of August 22 a letter from Miss Evelyn Sharp to the Home Secretary protesting against the reduction of her sentence on the alleged ground that she was a non-militant Suffragist, while the sentences of other suffragists, who bore a far less militant record than hers, were not so reduced. To this letter the following reply was sent from the Home Office by Sir Edward Troup, dated August 19:—

"In reply to your letter of the 15th inst., I am directed by the Secretary of State to inform you that you were released in ordinary course on the expiration of your sentence of four days' imprisonment. It is within the power of a magistrate to alter his sentence on the day on which it is passed, and this he did in your case, altering the sentence of fourteen days to four days' imprisonment."

Begging the Question

Miss Evelyn Sharp then addressed the following letter to the Home Secretary:—

"In your reply dated August 19, conveyed to me in a communication from Sir Edward Troup, you somewhat beg the question, if I may say so, which I raised in my letter of the 15th inst. I did not question the power of the magistrate to reduce my sentence from fourteen to four days. What I questioned was the justice of his being prevailed upon to do so by representations which, if correct, should apply equally, and are not being made to apply, to the sentences that are still running of other suffragists—notably of Miss Kerr, Miss Lake, and Miss Lennox. The question I put to you in my former letter, and which you would greatly oblige me by answering now, is this: If I, who am a working member of the Women's Social and Political Union, and have been twice convicted, once of window-breaking and once of obstruction, have two-thirds of my sentence remitted because I am a non-militant Suffragist, why cannot the much longer sentences of other women who also take part in the constitutional work of the W.S.P.U., but have no previous convictions against them, be reduced on precisely the same ground? I am presuming, of course, that judges have as much power as magistrates to alter sentences when representations are made to them from the proper quarter.

"I trust you will understand that I am not writing a second time to you from any desire to draw attention to my own case, which is of minor importance, but because it is intolerable to me to feel that for some unexplained reason I have been whitewashed, thereby escaping re-arrest under the Prisoners (Discharge for Ill-Health) Act, while others whose record could not reasonably be called a more militant one than mine are still subject to its penalties."

Another Official Evasion

Sir Edward Troup replied to Miss Sharp's second letter as follows:—

"I have laid before the Secretary of State your letter of August 22, and I am directed by him to say in reply that the offence of which Miss Kerr, Miss Lake and Miss Lennox were convicted was very different from a mere police-court charge of obstructing the police. They were, after full trial by jury and upon clear evidence, found guilty of being parties to a criminal conspiracy to commit and to incite other persons to commit outrages upon the property of His Majesty's subjects. The judge had power to mitigate the full punishment to which they were by law liable, and before passing sentence he had fully before him the extenuating circumstances which could be urged in their favour—particularly in favour of Miss Lake and Miss Lennox—and he did in fact pass much lighter sentences on these ladies than on those persons whom he regarded as the more guilty members of the criminal conspiracy."

The Inevitable Conclusion

Miss Evelyn Sharp then wrote as follows to Mr. McKenna:—

"I have received your reply to my letter of August 22, and I am sorry that you do not see your way to answering the question contained in it. My point was not that other Suffragists were given longer sentences than the one given to me, but that mine was considerably reduced on the alleged ground that I am not militant, which my actions prove me to be, while theirs were not so reduced, although they have been convicted of no militant action. This point, I regret to say, you have not cleared up, and I am driven to the conclusion therefore that the reason given for the reduction of my sentence was not the real one."

THE MEN'S POLITICAL UNION

The third Annual Report of the Men's Political Union for Women's Enfranchisement is indeed a stirring little pamphlet, telling, as it does, of the tireless activities of those men "who put the cause of Woman's Suffrage before everything in their lives." The union shows a large increase in the membership, and seven new branches have been formed in the provinces. Its members have made themselves heard up and down the country, in the House of Commons, at Cabinet Ministers' Meetings, at public dinners and receptions, as speakers on the platforms of other Suffrage Societies, and at meetings of their own, the most important of these last being held on Sundays, at first in Hyde Park, and later in Regent's Park.

"Alive, Awake, and Fighting"

Seven of the members of the M.P.U. have suffered imprisonment for the cause during the year. Of these, two were subjected to the torture of forcible feeding, and five have come under the Cat and Mouse Act. The Committee concludes by making a strong appeal "to those who cannot take an active part in the fight themselves, but rejoice to see other men standing up for the honour of their sex, to all those who love freedom and hate oppression," for funds "to keep the Union alive, awake, and fighting."

◆

THE ACTRESSES' FRANCHISE LEAGUE

The Report of the Actresses' Franchise League, June, 1912, to June, 1913, gives abundant proof of the vitality of the League and of the large amount of useful work accomplished by it during that time. A number of very successful meetings have been held at the Criterion Restaurant, at which a large number of eminent people spoke, and in May, 1913, a great mass meeting was held in the Drury Lane Theatre. The A.F.L. have had platforms at the Hyde Park Demonstration in July, 1912, at a mass meeting in Manchester in September of that year, and at two Victoria Park Demonstrations, besides providing speakers for numerous smaller meetings.

Its Political Work

The political work of the League has been most important. A memorial was addressed to the Speaker in December, 1912, asking that the actresses might be allowed to appear at the Bar of the House of Commons and plead the cause of woman's enfranchisement. On his reply that the necessary permission must rest with the members, the A.F.L. approached the Suffrage Societies and framed a joint petition, which assumed such large proportions that it was finally presented on April 22 in the form of two separate petitions—one presented by Lord Robert Cecil, signed by the representatives of thirty Suffrage societies, and one presented by Mr. Keir Hardie, signed by the members of Labour organisations. In addition to this the A.F.L. undertook in January the picketing of the House of Commons during the opening debate on the women's amendments to the Reform Bill, and some members are making it their business to get questions on matters relating to the Suffrage asked in the House of Commons.

◆

OUR SMUG LIBERAL PRESS

The *Daily News* (August 22), in a leading article, comments on the free pardon accorded by the Tsar of Russia to certain sailors of the Baltic fleet, who had been convicted solely on the evidence of the secret police, who were proved afterwards to have acted as agents provocateurs. The leading article, referring also to the contemporary scandal in the Paris plain-clothes police force, proceeds to say:—

"One can hardly say that the episode reflects upon the secret police. That is its occupation; it lives by it. But what is to be thought of a Government which after innumerable terrible revelations persists in maintaining such an institution?"

What, we ask, is to be thought of a Liberal Government which employs a similar secret police force against its women who are engaged in fighting for a Liberal reform?

◆

A RUMOUR CONTRADICTED

Miss E. Butler, Secretary of the Suffrage Club, 3, York Street, St. James's, sends us the following communication:—

"A malicious rumour has been circulated by unknown persons that this club is in the pay of the Government, and is being run indirectly by them. Although this absurd statement has already been publicly contradicted, it still continues to be spread, and the management can only hope that this attack upon the club is a backhanded compliment attributable to its good work in the cause of Woman Suffrage."

COMING EVENTS

The Actresses' Franchise League will hold a meeting in Hyde Park on Sunday next at 5.30 p.m.; speakers, Miss Sydney Keith, Mrs. Brailsford, and the Rev. Claude Hinscliffe.

A Demonstration will be held by the Women's Freedom League in Trafalgar Square on Saturday, September 13, at 3.30 p.m., to protest against the sentence passed on Mrs. Harvey for refusal to comply with the regulations of the Insurance Act.

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SUFFRAGE DIRECTORY

Actresses' Franchise League,
2, Robert Street, Adelphi, W.C.

Artists' Suffrage League,
259, King's Road, S.W.

Australian and New Zealand Women Voters' Association,
C/o International Women's Franchise Club, 9, Grafton Street, W.

Catholic Women's Suffrage Society,
55, Berners Street, Oxford Street, W.

Church League for Women's Suffrage,
6, York Buildings, Adelphi, W.C.

Civil Service Suffrage Society,
19, Sotheby Road, Highbury.

Conservative and Unionist Women's Franchise Association.
48, Dover Street, W.

Federated Council of Women's Suffrage Societies,
14, St. James' Street, S.W.

Forward Cymric Suffrage Union.
53, Wandsworth Bridge Road, S.W.

Free Church League for Women's Suffrage,
2, Holmbury View, Upper Clapton.

Friends' League for Women's Suffrage,
Mill Field, Street, Somerset.

Gymnastic Teachers' Suffrage Society,
2, York Place, Oxford Road, Manchester.

International Woman Suffrage Alliance,
7, Adam Street, Adelphi, W.C.

International Women's Franchise Club,
9, Grafton Street, W.

Irish League for Woman Suffrage,
Emerson Club, 13, Buckingham Street, W.C.

Irishwomen's Franchise League,
Antient Concert Buildings, Gt. Brunswick St., Dublin.

Irishwomen's Reform League,
29, South Anne Street, Dublin.

Irishwomen's Suffrage and Local Government Association.
163, Rathgar Road, Dublin.

Irishwomen's Suffrage Federation,
29, South Anne Street, Dublin.

Irishwomen's Suffrage Society,
27, Donegall Place, Belfast.

Jewish League for Woman Suffrage,
32, Hyde Park Gardens, W.

League of Justice,
2, Lyndale, Hampstead, N.W.

London Graduates' Union for Woman Suffrage,
Chester Gate, Ealing.

Marchers' Qui Vive Corps,
60, West Street, Horsham.

Men's Federation for Women's Suffrage,
34 and 35, Ludgate Chambers, Ludgate Hill, E.C.

Men's League for Woman Suffrage,
136, St. Stephen's House, Westminster.

Men's Political Union for Women's Enfranchisement,
13, Buckingham Street, Strand, W.C.

Men's Society for Women's Rights,
25, Victoria Street, S.W.

Munster Women's Franchise League,
83, Grand Parade, Cork.

National Industrial and Professional Women's Suffrage Society,
5, John Dalton Street, Manchester.

National Political League,
Bank Buildings, 14, St. James' Street, S.W.

National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies,
14, Gt. Smith Street, Westminster, S.W.

New Constitutional Society for Woman Suffrage,
8, Park Mansions Arcade, Knightsbridge.

Northern Men's Federation for Women's Suffrage,
6, Wellington Road, St. John's Wood, N.W.

People's Suffrage Federation
31-2, Queen Anne's Chambers, Tothill St., S.W.

Scottish Churches League for Woman Suffrage,
11, Howe Street, Edinburgh.

Scottish Federation for Women's Suffrage,
Bunwick, Berwickshire, N.B.

Spiritual Militancy League,
46, Queen's Road, Bayswater, W.

Suffrage Atelier,
Office: 2, Robert Street, Adelphi, W.C.
Studio: 6, Stanlake Villas, Shepherd's Bush, W.

Suffrage Club,
3, York Street, St. James', S.W.

Suffragist Churchwomen's Protest Committee,
21, Downside Crescent, Hampstead, N.W.

Votes for Women Fellowship,
4-7, Red Lion Court, Fleet Street, E.C.

Women Sanitary Inspectors' Suffrage Society,
83, Sutherland Avenue, W.

Women's Freedom League,
1, Robert Street, Adelphi, W.C.

Woman's Silent Co-operation for Freedom,
10, Southfields Road, Eastbourne.

Women's Social and Political Union,
Lincoln's Inn House, Kingsway, W.C.

Women's Tax Resistance League,
10, Talbot House, St. Martin's Lane, W.C.

Women Teachers' Franchise Union,
27, Murillo Road, Lee, S.E.

Women Writers' Suffrage League,
Goschen Buildings, Henrietta Street, W.C.

CLASSIFIED ADVERTISEMENTS.

Single insertion, 24 words or less 2s. 1d. per word for every additional word
(Four insertions for the price of three.)

All advertisements must be prepaid. To ensure insertion in our next issue, all advertisements must be received not later than Tuesday afternoon. Address, the Advertisement Manager, VOTES FOR WOMEN, *4-7, Red Lion Court, Fleet Street, E.C.*

BOARD RESIDENCE, Etc.

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FOLKESTONE.—"Trevarra," Bouverie Road West. Board-residence, excellent position, close to sea, Leas, and theatre; separate tables; moderate terms; private apartments if required. — Miss Key (W.S.P.U.).

HEIGHTS OF UDIMORE (300ft).—Board-residence, modernised farmhouse; delightful grounds, tennis, croquet; from 35s.—Ridley, Parsonage Place, Udimore, near Rye.

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PRIVATE HOTEL, for Ladies only; quiet and refined; 13, St. George's Square, Westminster; bedroom, breakfast, bath, and attendance, from 4s. 6d.—Write or wire Miss Davies.

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TWO UNFURNISHED ROOMS, second floor; use of kitchen and bathroom; rent 15s. weekly; close Golder's Green Tube.—Box 438, VOTES FOR WOMEN, 4-7, Red Lion Court, Fleet Street.

WANTED.

WANTED.—Unfurnished Bedroom and Sitting-room; central situation. Quote terms, with attendance, for year or six months.—L. R. A. M., Cherry Close, Maidenhead Thicket.

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A LIFE OF HEALTH.—Gardening, Household Management, Cookery, Laundry. Charming country residence, elevated position; efficient instruction, month or term; individual consideration.—Peake, Udimore, Rye.

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TO SUFFRAGIST SPEAKERS.—Miss ROSA LEO, Honorary Instructor in Voice Production and Public Speaking to the W.S.P.U. Speakers' Class, requests those desirous of joining her private class or taking private lessons to communicate with her, by letter to 45, Ashworth Mansions, Elgin Avenue, W. Separate classes for men. Mr. Israel Zangwill writes:—"Thanks to your teachings, I spoke nearly an hour at the Albert Hall without weariness. . . . while my voice carried to every part of the hall."

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GOOD OPENING in S. Germany for experienced English Teacher; knowledge of German essential. Moderate Terms for existing connection and "goodwill."—Apply, F. B., 12, Kingsnorth Gardens, Folkestone.

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PARTNER WANTED immediately, 220 acre Freehold Farm, Pingarra, W. A. Oranges full bearing, other fruits, poultry, sheep, horse breeding, shooting, fishing. Good house and farmstead, abundance water. Four miles main line station, fifty-four miles Perth. Everything perfect working order. Good income guaranteed. Half share £1,000, security title deeds.—Hutt, 36, Richmond Mansions, London, S.W.

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"VOTES FOR WOMEN" FELLOWSHIP

4-7, Red Lion Court, Fleet Street, E.C.

MEMBERSHIP CARD*

Various Forms of Service Open to Members

1.—To take VOTES FOR WOMEN each week and read it.
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3.—To sell VOTES FOR WOMEN in the streets or by house to house canvas.
4.—To obtain new subscriptions for three or six months to the paper.
5.—To deal as far as possible with the firms that advertise in VOTES FOR WOMEN.
6.—To canvass newsagents with the purpose of securing the display of VOTES FOR WOMEN posters.
7.—To secure new members for the VOTES FOR WOMEN Fellowship.
8.—To contribute to the VOTES FOR WOMEN Fellowship Fund, for various purposes of development, including the display of posters.
9.—To extend by other methods of service the influence of the Fellowship and the circulation of the paper.

Objects.—To dispel the ignorance that exists in the mind of the public with regard to the "Votes for Women" agitation.

To tell the true story of the Movement, both in its constitutional and militant development, and also to show the causes that have produced and are still fomenting the present revolt.

To educate and arouse opinion throughout the country, and rally sympathy and support to the fighters in this campaign for human liberty; to stimulate strenuous opposition to the Government's policy of futile and wicked coercion, and to persuade all who love justice and liberty to bring pressure upon the King's ministers to carry out the spirit of the British Constitution, and to concede the just and reasonable demand of women to be included in the body politic.

Methods.—Active co-operation, by one or all of the various forms of service enumerated on the opposite page, with the Editors of VOTES FOR WOMEN, so that in fellowship of spirit and unity of purpose the common aim as stated above may be achieved.

The "Votes for Women" Fellowship is not a Suffrage Society, but an association of friends who desire to work together for the accomplishment of a very distinct and definite purpose. It does not compete in any way with any Suffrage organization. Membership is open to men and women who belong to any of the Suffrage societies, both militant and non-militant, and also to men and women who are not hitherto connected with the Suffrage movement or committed to any Suffrage party or policy. Commencing in 1914, there will be a minimum entrance fee of 1s., and also a minimum annual subscription of 1s., due in January of each year.

Just as the Fellowship itself does not compete with any existing organization, so VOTES FOR WOMEN does not compete with any existing Suffrage paper. It serves a different though complementary purpose. As a paper independent of all Suffrage societies, it addresses itself to the outside public, presents a catholic view of the Woman's Movement, and appeals to every class and section of the community. Its wide circulation must result in more recruits for the various battalions of the Suffrage army and a greater demand of the official publications of the great militant and non-militant Unions.

The Editors of VOTES FOR WOMEN give their services to the paper without remuneration of any kind. That service is their contribution to the Suffrage Movement as a whole. They are pledged to devote any financial profits that may accrue to the further development of the paper.

Please enrol me as a member of the "Votes for Women" Fellowship.

Name..
(Please state whether Mrs., Miss, or Esq., etc.)

Full Address..

....

*** The above, in the form of a six-page card, will be sent to any reader of "Votes for Women" on application to Mrs. Pethick Lawrence, 4-7, Red Lion Court, Fleet Street, E.C.**

WANTED.—Capable Help to take entire charge of kitchen in small house.—Write, Miss Lewis, The White House, Ilkeston, Derbyshire.

SITUATIONS WANTED.

ACCOUNTS kept and books audited by qualified Woman Accountant; member W.S.P.U.—Box 432, VOTES FOR WOMEN, 4-7, Red Lion Court, Fleet Street.

W.S.P.U. SPEAKER requires Secretarial Work in London; expert shorthand typist, considerable business experience on trade journal.—Apply Box 434, VOTES FOR WOMEN, 4-7, Red Lion Court, Fleet Street.

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ABSOLUTELY FINEST VALUE in Ladies' Costumes (measure only). Distinction in cut and style. Prices, 35s., 42s., 45s., 52s. 6d. Members delighted; thousands testimonials. Beautiful patterns, fashions free.—Rawding, tailor, Retford, Notts.

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